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ABSTRACT

The number of women in educational administration is declining, despite official efforts to end sex discrimination. Women are hampered on the way to obtaining an adequate education, finding roadblocks from sex bias in elementary readers to discrimination in graduate programs; are considered responsible for home and children even when working full time; are not expected to aspire to administrative positions; are overlooked in the training for such positions; and are assumed to be inferior to the men who seek administrative jobs. Once hired, women are given little support from male superiors. While behavioral research generally favors women in administrative roles, attitudinal studies (including a survey of Minnesota administrators on which this thesis is based) continue to show a preference for males. If those attitudes are to change and female students to be given adequate role models for their own resistance to sex stereotyping, women must be placed in administrative roles. To encourage the acceptance of women in such positions requires getting more women into the field and changing sexist attitudes. This document provides recommendations for improvements in education and educational personnel policy at both the public school and college levels, which can help achieve these goals. (Author/PGD)

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FEMALE ADMINISTRATOR ACCEPTANCE

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A Thesis
Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Minnesota

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Educational Administration

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Elizabeth Ann Pawlitschek

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

by
Elizabeth Ann Pawlitschek
October 1976

EA 010 586

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Situation

Until about 1966 differential treatment of males and females in American society was felt to be natural. Playing of and training for different roles by males and females, the feeling that women were generally subordinate to men, and unequal pay for equal work were all taken for granted. In recent years, however, these same social processes have come to be recognized as discrimination.

Fidell lists a number of factors that are thought to have contributed to this change: Americans have become more humanistic--possibly a result of increasing awareness of the costs of environmental pollution, racial discrimination and war; there has been an increasing stress on equality rather than authority; many women have entered the labor force in recent years and for the first time have experienced occupational sexual discrimination firsthand; and technological and social changes have rendered the housewife role much less rewarding (Fidell, pp. 6-7).

Edward Bomsey, formerly a labor relations attorney in the Human Resources Development Group of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, lists additional changes in society that make employment of women more attractive: First, increased higher educational opportunities for women have resulted in increased pressures for them to be

permitted to use their education in professional careers rather than being tied to the home. Second, changes in sexual and psychological attitudes and the advent of "the pill" have given women more control over their physical, mental, and emotional states, thereby providing greater employment stability. Third, women have witnessed and participated in the struggle for equality engaged in by blacks and other minority groups and have seen the status of those groups greatly improved by their determinant efforts (Katzell and Byham, p. 54). In addition, there is increasing value placed on "self-actualization" which may bring about more ready acceptance of the notion of a wife bringing home the major portion of the salary or at least having both the husband and wife share in bringing in the income.

Women made up 63 percent of all public school instructional personnel in 1975. In the same year 2 percent of the nation's secondary school principals and 18 percent of the nation's elementary school principals were women (McCune--Forward, Howard, p. 1). For the most part the top echelon in education is being filled from a potential of only one-third of those people in the profession while two-thirds of the profession is being underutilized (Fishel, p. 390). Can the education profession continue to draw upon the male minority almost exclusively and obtain competent leadership?

The National Planning Association predicted an estimated shortage of professional managers, including principals, directors, and school superintendents, at 1.2 million for 1974 and 1975 due to the low birth rate in the mid-thirties. Dale warned: "If

education does not begin using the untapped leadership abilities of its women, then, the consequence will be the mediocrity that results from a restricted source of talent." (Dale, p. 16)

Despite the increased awareness of the justification and need for the talent of the female sector of our population in educational administration, the percentage of women in administration is declining. This is particularly true at the elementary level. In 1928, 55 percent of the elementary principals were women; by 1973 this number had declined to 19.6 percent. In 1969 the National Education Association (NEA) estimated 38.4 percent of the assistant principals were women; in 1973 that estimate was 30.8 percent. The number of women superintendents is practically non-existent at .1 percent in 1972-73 from .6 percent in 1970-71. Although the reduction is also apparent in the numbers of female teachers, the rate of decline is significantly more rapid in administration than in teaching (Niedermayer, p. 11-12). In Minnesota in 1973, 99.5 percent of the high school principals and 75.4 percent of the elementary principals were male (Rothchild, p. 39). This represents a reduction of the total number of female principals from 15.3 percent in 1970-71 to 13.5 percent in 1972-73. In the same two-year period the number of female assistant principals declined from 15 percent to 2.5 percent (Kaye, p. 3). In addition, since women are not now in line positions in sufficient numbers, evidence suggests that this decline will not change significantly in the short run (Clement, p. 1).

Historical Perspective

Dale summarizes the historical reasons behind the decline of women in administration.

> Ever since the end of World War I, women's role in educational leadership has been tapering. Assisted by the G. I. Bill, thousands of young men after the war left service to enter college, where a large number majored in education. After graduation they began teaching in the public schools and in many cases were quickly promoted into administrative positions where the salary was higher. Many school districts seemed to adopt an unwritten policy that whenever a women retired from an administrative or supervisory position she would be replaced by a man (Dale, p. 123).

The effort to attract more men into education, especially at the elementary level, was supposedly to prevent "feminization" of education. It was considered necessary to offer men the incentive of possible advancement to attract them into the field. Supposedly, men had to be promoted or they would leave the field (Coursen, pp. 16-17). A Virginia study points out that 53.3 percent of the men principals in the study had been in their present positions for three or fewer years, and only 16.7 percent had been in their present positions for ten or more years. In contrast, 36.2 percent of the women principals had three or fewer years of experience, and 32.9 percent of the women had ten or more years of experience in their present positions (Seawell, p. 47).

Another factor influencing the decline of women in administration was the trend toward consolidation of schools which resulted in the closing of nearly 60,000 schools, many small, rural, and headed by women (Coursen, pp. 16-17) and the resultant reduction of absolute numbers of administrators (Schmuck, p. 4.).

Not only have historical factors contributed to the decline of women in leadership positions in education, but women themselves have added to this decline by hesitating to be full and equal competitors with men. Epstein explains:

> Women learn early that most professional jobs are men's jobs and do not think about the possibility that a woman might decide to take one of them. If women exclude themselves from the competition for professional jobs, we cannot blame professional recruiters with discrimination. Discrimination is more complex than is commonly supposed and acts to limit women's horizons much earlier in the life cycle than at the point of looking for a job (p. 50).

This non-competitive attitude is perpetuated by the public school system.

> For at least ten years of their lives which boys spend in the obligatory school system of this country, they are allowed to put girls down, refuse to play with them, ignore them, make fun of them, humiliate them and ostracize them simply because they are girls. . . This sexual separatism which is the hidden agenda of schooling is the foundation for sex role stereotyping which does the most damage to future aspirations and expectations. . . Boys learn that they can, with impunity, define the boundaries of what girls can do (Verheyden-Hilliard, pp. 151-152).

Education perpetuates the damaging effects of sex role stereotypes in their use of biased textbooks and curriculum materials, the organization of extracurricular activities and the behavior of teachers. The pervading theme of curricular materials is "Boys do; girls are." Curricular materials do not permit the reader to view women as whole human beings (Rothchild, p. 54). "It is often said that schools reflect social reality. . . Actually there are more women working in a greater variety of jobs in the labor force than the readers indicate. . . School readers are more sexist than the social reality they are supposed to describe," (Levy and Stacy, p. 106)

In addition, women and women's issues are often times totally ignored. The typical United States history book devotes one out of 500 to 800 pages to women, their problems and their contributions. The fact that women are largely ignorant of their legal disabilities and of the prejudices they face in education, employmen, and public policy, and that the general public remains uninformed about the role of sex bias in social problems is further evidence that these topics are ignored in the education of Americans (Trecker, p. 111).

"The importance of role models is not a new idea in education and was behind earlier efforts to 'defeminize' education by encouraging men to undertake secondary, and now elementary, teaching. Thus, educators long ago agreed on the interrelationship of employment and education and the validity of attempts at altering lopsided employment patterns." (Niedermayer, p. 4) Yet, as Lundquist, school board member of Stillwater, Minnesota, stated in an "open letter" to the other members of the board:

> Our secondary schools have become so predominently male in all positions of authority that girls can find few women to relate to. Secondary girls need models of their own sex just as much as boys do. . . moreover, boys need exposure to women in a variety of roles to avoid the stereotyped thinking which is such a problem in today's society (Rothchild, p. 58).

As Coursen states: "Girls who see women only as teachers, taking orders from male principals, may become convinced that this is natural and inevitable, that the most they can hope for in life are positions subordinate to men." (Coursen, p. 9) Thus, "in the absence of real-life role models, most girls are deprived of nourishment for growth of their aspirations and intellectual potential." (Dale, p. 12)

Teacher/pupil interaction also frequently sex-types children. Boys receive more discipline, more attention and more instructional time than girls. Girls tend to be ignored or rewarded for conforming behavior. Even the open classroom policy of allowing children to follow their own interests condons the sex-typed activities and interests children have learned outside the schools. Intervention is necessary to require choices free of sex-typing (Levy and Stacey, pp. 10, 107).

Whether a woman is motivated to fail or to succeed, and regardless of the source of conflict or encouragement that produced this internal motivational barrier or increased her level of aspiration, women also face external barriers that block achievement. Employers, union leaders, and military and government leaders are white males who have the power to discriminate. Employers choose by a double standard--they assume white males are more qualified workers than blacks and/or women. The burden of proof is on the minority to show themselves qualified. Control of the power structure means, furthermore, that laws against discrimination are frequently not enforced; prejudiced propaganda is continued through the media, church, and schools; and blacks and women continue to get inferior training (Deckard, p. 97). Prather describes the situation:

> A self-fulfilling prophecy develops because, as few careers are open to women, few women seek or prepare for them. A belief that women do not want careers then becomes reality. Women perpetuate the prophecy because they see few role models of women who have successfully achieved or managed a career combined with motherhood . . . Since women often receive little motivation or incentive to remain with a career, they frequently use marriage or maternity as excuses for quitting their career. This practice again perpetuates the self-fulfilling prophecy (Fidell, pp. 20-21).

In addition to their overt discriminatory actions, males contribute to maintaining the secondary status of women by their stereotyped notions of women's capabilities, their traditional attitudes, and their general resistance to change. Moreover, the attitudes of individual males and females are frequently reinforced by occupational and societal structures which are resistant to change.

Employment and Acceptance

Those few women who do find their way into administrative positions experience obstacles to full membership and the accomplishment of their tasks.

> Acceptance is as critical to women managers as it is [to] men--acceptance as a competent manager and acceptance as a person. Both kinds of acceptance are vital to her and to him in order for them to function effectively. At the present time acceptance is far more a problem for women managers than for men; it requires establishing rather than already being established (Loring, p. 138).

Women who work outside the home are seen as entering the "man's" world, and any adjustments to be made in the work situation by the arrival of women is expected to be made by the intruders (women). Women are told to develop coping strategies which allow them to function in the "male" province (Women's Network Directory 1976, p. 20). Therefore, women have spent and continue to spend an enormous amount of energy introspectively searching for appropriate behaviors and acceptable images, while asking themselves "how am I to behave in this alien realm?"

McGannon states that the only way acceptability will change is when administrators themselves change and this can be done only

through the employment of women to administrative positions in much greater numbers than is presently the case (McGannon, p. 3). However, women are not likely to be moved into second and third line supervisory positions until the promotable young men are moved up (Women's Network Directory 1976, p. 20).

When the economy is tight, as it is now, both men and women are laid off. However, the employment problem is usually greater for women. Labor statistics clearly show that the percentage of women unemployed consistently has been higher than that of men unemployed. In the past three years, women's unemployment rates, nationally, almost doubled that of men's (Women's Network Directory 1976, p. 20).

Scope of Paper

This paper, then, is a study of the acceptance of women in educational administration in the United States and of possible steps which may be taken to alleviate both access and treatment discrimination experienced by these women.

Acceptance of female administrators is dependent in part upon the number of women in such positions. Therefore, this paper will consider both the aspirational and discriminatory effects of traditional attitudes which affect hiring practices as well as treatment of women in a male-dominated profession. The competencies of female administrators will be presented in an effort to refute traditional attitudes concerning women's capabilities. Acceptance studies will be discussed, and the comments of female administrators on this topic will be included. Management style will be analyzed in relation to increasing female administrator acceptance.

Finally, recommendations will be proposed that would help enable administrative roles to be viewed without the criterion of sex. The major obstacle confronting the acceptance of female administrators is that they are thought of and treated as female administrators.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Sex-typing of Occupations: Roadblocks to a Non-traditional Career

In American society, occupations judged to involve tasks which are person-oriented and expressive are sex-typed to be female occupations, e. g. nursing, social work, teaching. Those occupations believed to require detachment, analytic objectivity, or object-orientation are classified as male occupations, e. g. law, engineering, administration. One need only look at the Soviet Union where women are about one-third of the lawyers and engineers to know that these differences in qualities are not biological (Epstein, p. 155). Yet the situation is not improving. Although "female" occupations, such as nursing and elementary school teaching, have become less segregative, or more permissive about including males, "male" occupations, such as school administration, have become rather more segregative, or resistant to female entry (Gross, p. 48).

Epstein describes the segregative nature of occupations in America.

> Professions share many of the characteristics of communities. They tend toward homogeneity and exercise exclusionary practices which deter the participation of persons who do not possess characteristics defined as appropriate. They are characterized by shared norms and attitudes, which make for and perpetuate informal relationships. . . Since the preferred and prestigious professions are dominated

> by males, there is a tendency to assume that women do not share, or do not have the capacity to share, the common norms (Epstein, p. 167).

The woman is frequently caught in a double bind. If she emulates the masculine characteristics deemed essential for a job, she is called "unfeminine" or other adjectives considered derogatory for women. If, however, she does not demonstrate these so-called "masculine" characteristics, she may be considered inadequate for the job (Fidell, p. 14).

Most jobs deemed appropriate for women in American society capitalize upon one or both of the two images of women that prevail in this country--women as sexual objects and women as servants. Even when a woman has accomplishments and attributes in other arenas of her life, she is still frequently evaluated in terms of sex appeal. For example, female political candidates note that newspaper reporters are often more interested in their clothing than in their ideas.

There is also the belief in America that in women beauty and brains do not mix. Hence, a very beautiful woman engaged in a career is suspect because an employer may assume an attractive woman is not competent or that the woman became successful through her sex appeal, not her abilities.

The servant image of women promotes the myth that most women are being cared for by a husband, do not need financial rewards from work, and are willing to work for very little money or gratis as volunteers. This myth prevails despite the fact that the United States Department of Labor Handbook on Women Workers reports nearly two out of five women workers are single and the

majority of married women in the labor force have husbands whose income is less than $10,000 (Fidell, p. 17).

Women college graduates earn less than men high school dropouts, and these data refer only to full-time year-round workers. These figures do not include women on welfare or most domestic and agricultural workers (Katzell and Byham, p. 10). On the average there was a wage differential between the sexes (all other things being equal) of $3,453 per year in 1971 with the greatest difference of salary in white-collar jobs (Tobias, p. 54). The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor found that in 1971 female managers and administrators earned only 56 percent of the income males in similar positions earned (Gager, p. 372). The average salary for the male school administrator was almost $5,000 more than what the female administrator received in 1970 (Howard, p. 11). Furthermore, women's pay actually fell farther behind men's from 63.9 percent in 1955 to 58.2 percent of men's income in 1968 (ERR, p. 53). Women average 12.2 years to men's 12.3 years of education. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission released statistics in 1969 indicating that women and non-white males were often engaged in work far below their abilities and educational qualifications. The inability of women to move up the managerial and professional ladders, even when qualified to do so, accounts in part for their relatively low pay (ERR, p. 64). One-third of the 1,900 employers admitted on a questionnaire that they always paid women less than men. "Even today different salary schedules for the two sexes are maintained in various work organizations, despite the illegality of such practices."

(Theodore, p. 28) Other companies get around the equal pay laws by creating a new job title for women to do a job previously done by men under another name (Deckard, pp. 83-84). Can these practices be justified by American ideology?

The dominent ideology in America is an achievement ideology, particularly in economic life, according to which rewards ought to be based on merit or performance. Occupational sex discrimination can be described as the discrepancy between ideology and reality with regard to occupational rewards and the differential allocation of these rewards to female and male workers (Delamater and Fidell, pp. 79-80).

Levitin, Quinn and Staines examined occupational sex bias within a framework of the pervasive achievement ideology because it is generally used to justify sex differentials in occupational rewards. The results of the study indicate that the average woman should have received 71 percent more than her current income to make her income equivalent to a man with the same scores on the achievement variables. In other words, the legitimate achievement factors determining the allocation of income were differentially applied to equally qualified men and women (Delamater and Fidell, pp. 88-94).

Access discrimination is the problem women face in terms of the availability of jobs to them. Treatment discrimination refers to the discrimination women may face once they have obtained jobs (Delamater and Fidell, p. 80). Epstein summarizes both access and treatment discrimination that results from sex-typing of occupations.

> The more nearly a profession is made up entirely of members of one sex, the less likely it is that it will change its sex composition in the future and the more affected will be the performance of those few members who are not of that sex. Sex-typing tends to be a self-perpetuating process operating according to the dynamics of the self-fulfilling prophecy. . . As long as certain occupations are defined as male, women who seek entry to them will be defined as social deviants and subjected to social sanctions. As a result, they will be less often motivated even to consider professions defined as incompatible with women's other roles. Women in these occupations will tend to be discouraged from seeking advancement when they perceive that the opportunity structure is limited for them. . . the sex-typing of occupations as male provides an uncomfortable social context for the women in them (Epstein, pp. 165-166).

The sex-typing of occupations presents a number of roadblocks to the inclusion and successful functioning of women in predominently male jobs. Women are discouraged from aspiring to and training for "male" occupations. American socialization for the female means aspiring to be housewife and mother, and any deviation from such socialized behavior response results in feelings of guilt. The American woman thus feels responsibility for child care and operation of the home. Sex-typing has also socialized the American male in a way that results in his helping to keep women "in their place." Thus, the problem is two-fold: few women aspire to administrative or other "male" positions, and both men and women discriminate against those few women who do aspire to such positions. Furthermore, low aspiration results in lack of training and thus a lack of qualified women for administrative jobs, which enhances discriminatory feelings regarding the competence of the female to handle the job. In addition, the fact that women are aware of the discriminatory hiring practices which prevail in "male" occupations further discourages

women from aspiring to jobs sex-typed as male. Thus, low aspiration reinforces discrimination, and discrimination reinforces low aspiration.

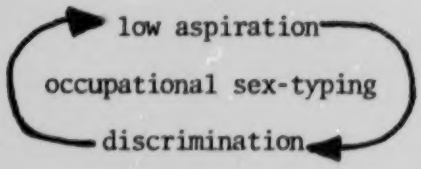

Figure 1

REINFORCEMENT CYCLE OF OCCUPATIONAL SEX-TYPING

Roadblocks to Aspiration

> The American educational system trains women for subordinate roles. It does not provide them with the kind of education that is marketable to industry. Business motivation is stifled. Job expectations are minimized. The total effect is that by the time women reach employable age, they are not prepared to compete fairly with men (Katzell and Byham, pp. 2-3).

Many studies validate the fact that career aspirations are stifled very early in a girl's life:

1. A survey conducted in 1966 revealed that 59 percent of the girls, compared to 66.7 percent of the boys in the study, wished to have a career in professional occupations. However, only 31.9 percent of the girls, compared to 57 percent of the boys, stated that they actually expected to be working in such an occupation (Grazier, p. 72).

2. According to Crandall, girls give estimates of their own intellectual and academic capabilities lower than boys. Relative to their past academic performance, the boys were over-optimistic, while girls were at first slightly hopeful but became more pessimistic as their college careers progressed (Crandall, p. 682).

3. According to Horner's study, 65 percent of the women subjects gave responses filled with negative consequences associated with achievement, whereas 90 percent of the male subjects showed strong positive feelings. In comparing her 1972 study to her study of 1960, Horner found that negative attitudes toward successful women have increased on the part of both female and male subjects (Unger and Denmark, p. 638).

4. Alper's 1971 study supports Horner's findings, but further specifies that it was not success in general that women feared

but success in a culturally sex-inappropriate field (Unger and Denmark, p. 639).

5. Of recently graduated high school and college students interviewed, girls had far less knowledge of, or long-term interest in, the world of work than boys (Hall, p. 135).

6. In a 1966 study in the Detroit area of women (seniors and post degree students in elementary education, teachers, assistant principals, and principals), Parlato concluded that aspiration levels for all respondents was low--only 41 percent of the women who were not principals aspired to this position. In addition, for most of those who did seek advancement beyond teaching, the principalship was the terminal goal (Parlato, p. 914-A).

7. A 1964 California study encountered even lower levels of aspiration than found by Parlato. Only one-fifth of the sample of women indicated interest in being promoted (Burns, p. 2822).

8. Barter's study indicated probably the lowest level of aspiration with 45.8 percent of the men and only 7.8 percent of the women in elementary education definitely interested in the principalship (Coursen, p. 15).

9. Fishel calls attention to the fact that "beginning teachers are far more likely to aspire to become principals than more experienced women teachers." (Fishel, p. 390)

> For females the establishment of a new self-identity takes place at two levels instead of one: internalization of the occupational role and identification with a specific profession. The male's concern is with the latter only (Epstein, p. 54).

Horner believes that most women have a motive to avoid success because they expect negative consequences such as social rejection

and/or feelings of being unfeminine (Unger and Denmark, p. 653). Many studies have been directed at discovering the positive and negative influences on levels of aspiration among women toward careers in general and toward educational leadership in specific:

1. Alper found that parents were influential antecedents to aspiration, and he related the motive to avoid success to a punitive, devaluing father (Unger and Denmark, p. 639). Wallace found that the association between college freshmen's desire to please their parents and their desire to attend graduate or professional school was +.47 for men and -.37 for women. That is, men who wanted to please their parents were interested in further career-oriented education, but women concerned about pleasing their parents were not (Deckard, p. 48).

2. In contrast to previous research, the attitudes of parents were not significant in arousing the motive to avoid success according to the 1972 Horner study. Instead, the attitudes of male peers toward the appropriate role of women appeared to be the most significant factor in arousing the motive to avoid success (Unger and Denmark, pp. 638-639).

3. Almquist and Angrist found that career salient students are most strongly influenced by college professors and occupational role models (Almquist and Angrist, p. 319). In addition, according to the Parlato study, school administrators were influential in moving the respondents to seek college degrees and career advancements (Parlato, p. 914-A). Similarly, Burns states that women were influenced to attain leadership placement by a superior, as well as their own interest in the field (Burns, p. 2822).

4. Almquist and Angrist found that those career salient women who were married or planning to be stated that they had future mates who fostered their work plans. Non-career salient women felt that peers, family members or no one had influenced their occupational choice, and those who were married or planning to be were attached to males who agreed with their lesser work orientation (Almquist and Angrist, p. 319). Twelve percent of the women doctorates who responded to Astin's survey considered their husband's negative attitudes a major block to their career development (Astin, p. 450). Studies by Parlato and Weil resulted in similar findings. In addition, College and University Business interviewed dozens of women faculty members and found that very few husbands share the household duties. The constraint imposed on women by conflicting demands of careers and families is the thing that discouraged subjects of this study most from choosing advanced degrees and a career (Cunningham, p. 50).

5. Many female administrators were never married or were divorced or widowed and not remarried. This has not only been typical of administrative women, but of the nations's working women as a whole. Recent national census information indicated that of those women who earned $7,000 and above, 30 percent had never married and 12 percent were divorced. Of the men, only 3 percent had never married and one percent were divorced. In light of the research about women's affiliative motives, it can be reasonably argued that one situational factor which has prodded females toward achievement motivation is associated with a disruption in her affiliative needs.

6. French and Lesser found that women at all-women colleges had higher achievement scores than did women attending co-ed colleges. The women in a co-ed situation were forced into competition with men and faced the conflict between achievement and rejection of woman's role (Unger and Denmark, p. 636).

7. Blumen-Lipman reported that women with a contemporary view of woman's role had a higher aspiration level than did those women with a traditional view (Unger and Denmark, p. 637).

8. Almquist and Angrist found numerous indirect sources of reference group influence in addition to those previously mentioned: Career salient students perceived their professors as having a more positive evaluation of their academic ability, more frequently had working mothers, have had more work experience and were more likely to choose fields chosen by male peers than were non-career salient students (Almquist and Angrist, p. 319).

Support and encouragement is needed in order to increase the aspiration level of women for two reasons: first, left to themselves, women will self-select into occupations consistent with their self-image (Fidell, p. 12); secondly, "doubt as to whether one's achievement will be recognized in the profession undermines motivation." (Howard, p. 24)

According to a small sample of graduate institutions, there has been a slight increase in the number of women studying educational administration. All these institutions acknowledge that they now recognize the need to recruit female graduate students, and this realization has been accompanied by an increase in female participation in these programs (Lyon and Saario, p. 121).

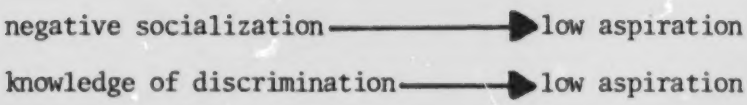

Figure 2

ROADBLOCKS TO ASPIRATION

Roadblocks to Educational Advancement

Deckard describes the status of women's education:

> Partly as a result of socialization and partly as a result of biased admissions policies, the ratio of women to all students declines at higher levels. Women are 53 percent of the United States population and 51 percent of high school graduates but receive only 42 percent of the BA degrees, only 40 percent of MA degrees and only 13 percent of the PhD degrees. Thus sexism results in a lower level of education for women than for men (Deckard, p. 121).

Beginning with admittance, women run into many obstacles en route to a college degree.

1. In a 1971 study researchers found that except in cases of clearly outstanding women, males were accepted into colleges more frequently than females with qualifications identical in every respect except gender (Frazier, pp. 146-147).

2. About 40 percent of all professional women interrupt their careers at some time, mostly to raise small children. What causes this interruption is not the biological fact that women have the babies, but the socially determined fact that women alone are held responsible for their care (Deckard, p. 138). (See Roadblocks to Day Care)

3. Another obstacle encountered is age restrictions on admittance to graduate schools. This affects women more than men because, again, women usually drop their education to raise a family. The mother may attempt to return when the youngest child is in school, only to be told she is too old (Unger and Denmark, pp. 641-642).

4. Many universities have rigid course timetables and lack adequate day care facilities. Classes for the most part are

offered during the day when married women are busiest with household responsibilities. Evening courses are limited and they end early. A woman may have to wait semesters for a particular required course to be offered at night, thereby dragging out her college attendance for several years. If a woman is responsive to the mobility demands of a husband, she may lose numerous credits in transferring from one college to another (Frazier, pp. 156-157).

5. Women also receive fewer scholarships and less financial aid than men--$518 as an annual average for females, $760 for males. Many scholarships are limited to men only. Moreover, practically all federal aid is available only to full-time students, a requirement that many married women find impossible to meet (Frazier, p. 147). Edith Green, Congresswoman from Oregon, stated in a 1967 report that only one out of five National Defense Education Act graduate fellowships went to a woman; one out of four teaching fellowships was awarded to a woman (Painter, p. 61).

Another roadblock to advancement of education of women is the lack of female role models in American colleges. Most student leaders, teachers and administrators in our colleges are male. Less than one-quarter of the faculties in institutions of higher education in the United States are female, and most of these are present at the lower rungs as instructors and assistant professors. Moreover, 92 percent of the institutions responding to the AAUW survey reported that they do not include women in top-level administrative positions (Frazier, p. 149). The University Council for Educational Administration determined in 1972 that only 2 percent

of all professors of educational administration were women (Niedermayer, p. 10). Even this imbalance is a result of sexism.

Frazier points out the strength of sex-biased attitudes:

> In a 1970 experiment, eight paragraphs summarizing the professional accomplishments of a young psychologist were sent to chairmen of every degree granting psychology department in the country. Two forms were used, one to indicate a male applicant and other other a female. They were identical except in name and the sex reference pronoun. The departments rated the "women less desirable than men in six of eight instances." (Frazier, p. 160)

"Although male applications received more offers for associate and full professorships, the number of assistant or lower-status offers was the same for each sex." (Hochschild, p. 258)

Although it is highly desirable to have more women in influential positions, it is very possible for men to provide college women with the encouragement they need, and researchers have found that "non-romantic relationships with men, including those with teaching fellows and graduate assistants, are important in shaping women's career and educational aspirations." (Frazier, p. 150) Are such positive relationships on a large scale possible, however, when one considers that:

> Over 50 percent of 3,000 academic men replied to a questionnaire that the prime responsibility of a woman is to be a mother and wife, that women don't have as much need to achieve as men, and that women do have an equal opportunity to achieve their full potential (presumably while staying at home). A majority also believed the myth that women have higher job turnover and sick-leave rates; and most believed that women cannot deal with males who are their subordinates.
>
> Such sexist attitudes on the part of academic men distort their judgements of women as students and as colleagues. . . Thus sexist prejudices affect judgements on admission, grading, hiring, and promotion of women. There is even evidence that they negatively affect the performance of female students (Deckard, p. 117).

Should a woman manage to complete her education despite these roadblocks, she will then be encouraged to enter a specialty where she will presumably meet the least opposition. For example, women are encouraged to apply for program specialist or curriculum positions rather than to pursue the principalship. In this way, placement offices act as a filtering system for the professions (Epstein, p. 170).

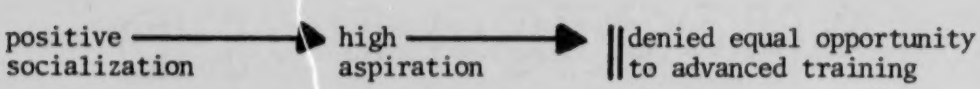

Figure 3

ROADBLOCKS TO EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

Roadblocks to Day Care

When an authoritative person in Ann Arbor schools was asked why there were so few women principals and vice-principals in the schools, he replied: "Face it; women have the babies so they have to take care of the children." (Federbush, p. 39) Frequently, the working mother is asked how she could leave her children to go to work, while no one ever considers asking the working father the same question. Society's expectation that child care is the mother's full-time obligation forms another barrier which may hinder her success in a career.

The assumption of a professional role by the wife has not meant a dramatic change in family roles. A 1970 study of 45 couples who had at least one child found that only one couple viewed the responsibility of child care to be a shared one by both mother and father. With few exceptions, of 53 dual-profession couples, both wife and husband also considered the female to be in charge of the home (Poloma and Gardner, pp. 750, 757).

The basic cause of women's second-class status--the traditional belief that "anatomy is destiny"--has resulted in a demand for improved day care. Most of the men and women who were interviewed by Holmstrom in her study of two-career families expressed positive attitudes toward the idea of child care centers. However, the fact that day care centers are viewed as a measure to help women, but not men, add a work life to their home life is another indication of the notion that child care is woman's responsibility.

Child care has consistently lagged behind the need. Licensed child care centers in 1973 numbered only around 900,000, while six million children under the age of six had mothers in the United States labor force (Gager, pp. 495, 514). Despite such barriers, the sharpest rise of women workers is the mother of pre-school age children. One-third of these women were working or seeking work in 1969, almost twice as many as in 1960 (ERR, p. 52).

Where day care is available, tax deductions for it, although recently liberalized by the Revenue Act of 1971, do not provide adequate tax relief for the mother in the labor force. The Act allows for a personal itemized deduction of up to $200 a month for one child, $300 for two children, and $400 for three or more children if both parents are either employed full time or one is mentally or physically handicapped (Day Care Facts, p. 5).

Unfortunately, generalizations drawn from studies of institutional deprivation have undercut public support. However, recent studies show that "the percentage of disturbed children was three times as high in the homes of non-working mothers as compared to working mothers." Children of working mothers (including those with careers, not just jobs) are more self-reliant, mature and self-determining people (Loring, p. 122).

Evidence indicates that children respond favorably when their caretakers are competent and rewarded through reasonable salaries and good working conditions (Gager, p. 495). In addition, studies of children in hospitals and orphanages who suffer such a traumatic separation from the home cannot be equated with the

shorter separation that occurs if the mother works (Deckard, p. 71).

Many studies indicate that the mother is not the only person who can raise a healthy child. Margaret Mead states that "cross-cultural studies suggest that adjustment is most facilitated if the child is cared for by many warm friendly people." Another recent study found that children can become just as attached to a male as to a female if the man spends sufficient time with them. Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner states that the young child does not require care by the same person all the time, and actually profits from the intercession of others, notably his father (Deckard, pp. 73-74).

Hoffman goes even further to state that there is considerable evidence to support the idea that maternal employment has positive effects, particularly on girls. The optimum conditions for a highly achieving female includes the presence of an affirmative role model, independence training, and a good relationship with a father who encourages his daughter to be independent and highly achieving while accepting her as a female. Studies indicate that these conditions were more likely to be found in a family that includes a professional mother. Birnbaum shows that professional mothers expressed pleasure over their children's independence, but the non-working mother was disturbed over her child's independent strivings. There is also data to support the contention that husbands of working women are likely to be more encouraging and supportive of their daughters and are more actively involved in the care of children (Unger and Denmark, pp. 644-645).

Widespread availability of child care facilities is essential if women are to have a true choice of lifestyles. Adequate tax relief for child care is also needed for mothers who must work for the survival of their families (Gager, p. 514).

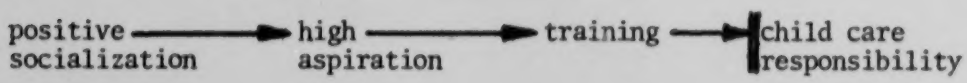

Figure 4

ROADBLOCKS TO DAY CARE

Roadblocks to Recruitment and Selection

Lawton asserts that since white males have always controlled the school systems and made the hiring decisions, all persons not white and male are assigned to the group "other." Lawton states that, unconsciously, approximately 35 to 45 percent of all positions have been set aside to be shared by these "others." Up to the 60's this "others" group consisted of white women, who are now being replaced by minorities to racially integrate the system--men have protected their own positions. As long as white males retain the real power, the "others" must compete among themselves for advancements (Coursen, p. 19). How is such control possible in a country where equal opportunity is the law?

1. Men tend to be awarded positions of extracurricular responsibility, experience which seems to be a prerequisite for administrative posts. The positions that typically feed people into administration are dominated by men, secondary teaching and coaching a sport (Niedermayer, pp. 22-23).

2. Attitudinal studies show that women teachers are discouraged from seeking administrative jobs. Warwick, Matheny, and Peterson each found that colleges and universities make no special effort to recruit women for training to become principals and that women receive less encouragement than men from supervisors to prepare for and to become administrators.

> As a result of this discouragement, most women in education who seek positions other than that of a classroom teacher undertake graduate studies in fields other than school administration. This is illustrated by the small number of women who receive doctorates in educational administration as compared to other education areas. In 1972, only 11 percent of the doctorates

> in educational administration went to women, as compared to 32 percent in educational psychology, 25 percent in counseling and 38 percent in curriculum (NAWDAC, p. 114).

3. According to a study conducted by Tjosvold, the main reason given by public school superintendents in Minnesota for the underrepresentation of women in certified administrative positions is the lack of certified women applicants (Tjosvold, p. 5). While it is true that women teachers do not aspire or prepare for administrative jobs to the same extent as male teachers, statistics suggest a greater pool of women with credentials than is being tapped for administrative positions. For example, in 1975 women held 20 percent of the master's degrees and 8.5 percent of the doctorates in educational administration (McCune, forward of Howard, p. 1). Nine percent of the graduates of the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities campus, in educational administration in the past five years were female (Rothchild, p. 58). In addition, a California study of assignment of women to leadership positions found no correspondence between level of assignment and degree held (Burns, p. 2822).

4. Niedermayer points out that "posting of jobs is often a formality. People are recruited through word of mouth and many sources and decisions are already made even before jobs are posted." (Niedermayer, pp. 21-22) For example, although all openings for administrative and supervisory positions are required to be announced in the Kalamazoo Schools, some employees feel that decisions have already been made as to who will fill the vacancy before it is announced (Kalamazoo, p. 9).

McIntyre criticizes current recruitment procedures:

> Researchers have not paid much attention to the process by which teachers achieve visibility that leads to promotion to the principalship, but a recent study of teacher mobility in a large city district clearly challenges the notion that promotions are actually accomplished via the formal system as described in the manual. As a matter of fact, an elaborate informal system was developed, largely circumventing the procedures described on paper (McIntyre, p. 30).

Women are inhibited by lack of free access to fellow practitioners and peers at predominantly male clubs and associations--the circle in which job opportunities are frequently made known and informal recommendations are made (Epstein, p. 172).

5. Most districts form screening committees to interview, prioritize and recommend administrative candidates. The typical screening committee consists of six to eight members. About half the committees are all men and the other half have only one or two women (Schmuck, p. 112).

6. In addition to the imbalance of the sexes on such evaluation committees, screening tools and techniques leave something to be desired. Research indicates that interviewing is practically worthless as a means of revealing reliable estimates of future behavior (McIntyre, p. 32). Nevertheless, this is one of the primary tools used toward making hiring decisions. It is therefore discouraging to note that women in the past have frequently been asked a series of personal questions not usually asked of prospective male employees, such as whether they can type or how they plan to manage to combine marriage and a career (Orth, pp. 144-145).

7. At least eight separate studies conducted from 1959 through 1973 have found that there is strong bias against appointing

women to administrative positions. In addition, Warwick, Taylor, and Mantheny each found that those women who are appointed to an administrative position must possess superior qualifications and skills (Orth, p. 143). A 1969 study of the characteristics of elementary assistant principals revealed that men assistant principals as a group were younger than women and that 51 percent of the women had 10 to 19 years of elementary teaching experience while 51 percent of the men had taught only 2 to 9 years (Niedermayer, p. 13). Orth states that "often women are recognized only after long tenure has demonstrated their intention to pursue careers; men of equal age and experience move faster and are commended for their initiative and ambition--qualities often suspect in women." (Orth, p. 143).

8. Superintendents in the Tjosvold study feared that recommendation for the employment and/or promotion of women to certified administrative positions would not be approved or accepted by the board of education, the community, and employees in the organization (Tjosvold, p. 5). Administrators, therefore, try to avoid tension and conflict in their communities by making traditional choices. Even if he prefers a woman administrator, a superintendent may not even mention her to the board (Schmuck, pp. 60-61).

9. If a woman is recommended by the superintendent to the board, she again is confronted with a predominantly male evaluation committee. In 1973 only 20 percent of all school board members were women (Kaye, p. 6). Furthermore, the voice of the boardswoman may not be heard. Women are seldom in charge of committees or elected as chairperson of the board. Many boardswomen have

stated that male members ignore female members' opinions and "do as they please." (Mullins, p. 30) Although women are sometimes prejudiced against women, research suggests that "female school board members evidence the most favorable attitudes toward women administrators." (Niedermayer, p. 22)

10. Job titles may be discriminatively assigned. When women are promoted, they are hired as program directors or curriculum specialists. Men performing the same duties are called vice principal, assistant principal, or assistant to the superintendent. Top-level jobs ordinarily require central office or line experience, and thus women are eliminated from competing for these positions (Clement, p. 48).

11. There is a higher probability of placement of women in districts in or near urban areas in certified administrative positions rather than in rural areas, according to the Tjosvold study (Tjosvold, p. 6). However, Schmuck states that she is convinced after her study in Oregon's schools "that urban-rural differences made no difference in men's convictions about women's competencies in school management." She discovered as much active resistance from some men in urban areas as she had heard from men in rural areas (Schmuck, p. 95).

12. Declining enrollments has been given as a reason for hiring so few women (and it is assumed men) to administrative positions. However, a recent study by Tjosvold reports that the declining enrollment in Minnesota was not of major significance in the selection or promotion of women to certified administrative positions. Superintendents' attitudes concerning the

personal characteristics of women outranked organizational factors such as enrollment trends (Tjosvold, p. 6).

In addition to sex discrimination, "sex-plus" discrimination is applied singularly to women. In instances of sex-plus discrimination, another attribute, such as marriage is singled out for attention. In the past employers could reject married female applicants for a position even though they were hiring married men (Clement, p. 18).

"The fact that the proportion of unemployed women in the labor force decreases with increasing education suggests that the educated woman's participation in the labor force is determined not only by her own needs and career interests, but also by the availability of job opportunities." (Astin, p. 441) Sex-plus discrimination decreases job opportunities for married women, particularly those with young children.

The following stereotypes continue to influence recruitment and selection despite the statistical refute offered by research:

STEREOTYPE	RESPONSES
1. Competition between husband and wife would threaten family solidarity.	Holmstrom's study of two-career families shows that 65 percent of the couples reported no feelings of competitiveness and gave no indication of such feelings during their interviews.
2. That salary is higher for married than for single men, and that salary is higher for single than for married women suggest that reward tends to be scaled to perceived financial need. A number of assumptions are made by this stereotype:	Among the women in the work force, 41 percent are single, widowed, divorced or married with the husband absent. The members of the Young Presidents Organization, having made their first million before reaching 40, are not known for

STEREOTYPE	RESPONSES
a. If a woman is married, her husband works and supports her. b. Economic need is the only need that really motivates people. c. The requirement to support is the only fair basis for employment.	lack of commitment due to economic security. Further, motivational research indicates that the economic motive is only one of many factors contributing to a sense of commitment. In addition, a recent survey shows that six out of ten women say they would work even if they could receive the same salary by staying at home.
3. If a female manager is married, her home duties will take priority over her executive functions.	Women who have children provide for child care and for most emergencies. Also, emergencies may require absence from work of either parent. If women do take off more days to care for a sick child, it does not result in higher absenteism rates for women. When acute and chronic conditions are counted, men average 5.4 days per year, women 5.3 days.
4. Women will quit their jobs to have children and raise a family.	Most women have their last child at age 26, and at that age few persons are under consideration for an administrative position. Furthermore, birth control is improving, and abortion laws have been liberalized. Many women are choosing to have a reduced number of children or to be childless, choices which are meeting with increasing social acceptance. NEA reports that breaks in service have decreased in the past decade from more than half of all women teachers to a third. A 1970 study showed that women are less prone to leave jobs than are men, and only 11.5 percent of the women who quit their jobs said they were leaving for family reasons. The U. S. Department of Labor comments: "Labor turnover rates are influenced more by the skill level of the job, the age of the worker,

STEREOTYPE	RESPONSES
	the worker's record of job stability and the worker's length of service with the employer than by sex. . ." A Public Health Service study of work time lost because of disability shows that during 1967 women lost an average of 5.6 days, compared to 5.3 days for men, including days lost because of childbearing and complications of pregnancy.
5. A woman manager will give up her job if her husband is transferred.	This is no longer a valid assumption for traditional couples, much less for non-traditional couples. If the husband is offered a transfer and the wife cannot get as good a job in the new location, the couple may be financially better off for him to turn down the transfer. For many, a compromise is made between the two careers. Studies of personnel flow in schools in San Diego and Michigan found that although termination and transfer rates are higher for women than men within their twenties, rates of termination and mobility are the same for persons of both sexes in the thirties and forties. In their fifties, men had higher transfer rates while termination rates were the same for men and women.
6. A woman manager will not relocate.	Women workers may be less likely to move than men because they have fewer options as a result of discrimination. The male administrator can expect a vote of confidence from his new employers and is thus able to move from one position to another and still be surrounded by a few people who have an interest in his success and satisfaction. Because the female's competence in administration is not assumed, she is not as transferrable. Women who

STEREOTYPE	RESPONSES
	are forced to be place-bound early in their professional life form earlier ties than do men. If, late in her career, a woman is offered a position away from home, she must give up more than the young man who has not yet made such ties. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Drawn from: Deckard, pp. 73-74; Ferber and Loeb, pp. 237-238; Loring, pp. 100-149; Gager, p. 527; Howard, p. 22; Katzell and Byham, pp. 8-9; Where Are the Women Superintendents?, pp. 4-5.

McIntyre believes that "there is little evidence that promotions today are becoming more systematically based on job-relevant factors." (McIntyre, p. 30) And Tjosvold concludes that "traditional stereotypes of women's work roles persist and influence employment opportunities for women." (Tjosvold, p. 5) Taylor goes even further to state that she found sex to be the only factor to have any significance on hiring decisions of those variables tested (age, type of position, length of experience, size of the school district of background) (Taylor, p. 125).

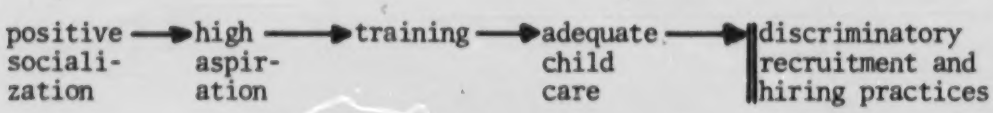

Figure 5

ROADBLOCKS TO RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Competency Studies

Intellectually, girls start off ahead of boys. They begin speaking, reading, and counting sooner; in the early grades they are even better in mathematics. They score higher than their male peers on achievement tests throughout elementary and secondary school and get better grades, even in college (Howard, p. 65). However, during the high school years, girls' performance on ability tests begins to decline (Frazier, p. 71).

Very little is known about the relationship between particular sex hormones and specific male and female behaviors. Social learning theorists maintain that society's views concerning sex-appropriate behavior are taught through reward and punishment, live models, and symbolic models (e. g., television) (Deckard, p. 21).

According to Dr. Esther Matthews, we do not know enough about how the various facets of endowment, experience, and behavior link together to do justice to the complexity of human beings. By present methods of measurement, according to Tyler, the question about sex differences in intelligence is unanswerable. She says that intelligence tests of all varieties do not and cannot measure pure native capacity, but reflect the experiences a person has undergone as well.

Even before a child is born, and certainly after, parents, friends, and community respond to the child in a sex-differentiated fashion. During the first two years of life, girls are looked at and talked to more than boys. Girls are not socialized away from mother until later ages than boys (Lewis, pp. 232-235). According to data from Fels Research Institute, the girl whose IQ increases

from ages 6 to 10 is the girl who rejects the feminine role, who is competitive, independent, and dominant (Baumrind, p. 164).

Aptitude is defined, in part, as "a natural tendency or acquired inclination." The belief that aptitudes are sex differentiated innately is a limiting concept. Although females generally score higher than males on clerical aptitude and dexterity tests and males score significantly higher on mechanical aptitude tests, Tyler points out that:

> Two general findings must be kept in mind if misinterpretations of these differences in ability are to be avoided. One is that in all such comparisons . . . individual differences far outweigh sex differences. The other general finding from comparison of sex groups at different ages is that most of these varieties of differences in ability do not show up until elementary school years or later (Katzell and Byham, p. 31).

In the area of problem solving or risk-taking behavior there also does not seem to be enough research to substantiate any firm conclusions about sex differences. Risk-taking studies, as they are now construed, show quite consistent results in favor of men. However, as pointed out earlier, vocational risk-taking in women rests heavily upon the skill, insight, and support of family, educators, employers, and women themselves (Katzell and Byham, pp. 33-34).

Denmark points out that "just because girls are less apt to express aggression does not mean they are incapable of doing so." Bandura found that although boys and girls imitated to the same extent if reinforced for doing so (Unger and Denmark, p. 223).

Anticipation of success among women, especially against a male competitor, poses a threat to the sense of feminity and self-

esteem. Therefore, the anticipation of success is anxiety provoking and as such inhibits otherwise positive achievement-directed motivation and behavior. The differences in expressed achievement motivation in the sexes is not an accurate comparison of the need of men and women to achieve. Society does not recognize, support and approve certain forms of need achievement in women--particularly in career achievement (Katzell and Byham, p. 36). Horner found that of the female students who felt ambivalent or anxious about doing well, 77 percent did better alone than in competition (Horner, p. 258).

There are no real grounds for the notion that curiosity is a predominately male characteristic. The problem is to eliminate aspects of the testing situations that may be influential in producing the results in such studies. For example, Torrance's studies were based upon a particular conception of curosity, how a set of scientific toys worked and what they could be used for. In addition, naturalistic observation poses problems of evaluation. Torrance found that both boys and girls valued the contributions of boys more highly than girls' even when there was no difference between boys' and girls' contributions (Katzell and Byham, pp. 34-35).

General behavioral studies do not show any reliable, significant differences based upon sex. Yet, many retiring women elementary school proncipals are being replaced by men. Because of the recent trend toward men as elementary principals, it might be assumed that men are better principals than women. Rather, studies specific to administrative behavior show some considerations

which favor women. Behavioral research therefore indicates that the criteria presently being used to employ principals do not appear to be directly related to success on the job.

According to Morsink, although men and women principals do not perceive themselves significantly different in the degree to which they exercise responsibility, authority, and delegation, their teachers perceive some significant differences by sex. Male principals are perceived by the staff to be more tolerant of teachers acting on their own initiative and making their own decisions. However, women principals, as perceived by teachers, speak and act more often as representatives of the group, are more effective at resolving conflicts with staff members, exhibit greater foresight in the decisions they make and the actions they take, maintain a more closely knit organization, and maintain more cordial relations with their superiors than do male principals (Fishel and Pottker, pp. 112-113, 389).

A study by Gross and Trask supports Morsink's findings that women principals are more likely to require teachers to conform to their standards than men. However, this can be attributed to women principals' greater experience (especially in elementary schools) which results in more confidence that their standards are sound and legitimate (Fishel and Pottker, p. 383). Moreover, women principals generally have had more education classes and a better knowledge of teaching techniques and methods (Mickish, p. 8).

According to a Virginia study, women are more influential in selecting instructional materials for their school than men

principals are. However, male principals more frequently than women tend to dominate the determination of specific instruction methods teachers use while women principals work more cooperatively with faculty committees in determining instructional procedures (Seawell, p. 47).

Gross and Trask found that men and women do not differ in the importance they attach to the management of routine administrative duties. However, men derive greater satisfaction from performing such tasks than women do (Mickish, p. 10).

The degree to which teachers feel their work is hindered by routine duties and busy work is not perceived to be significantly different in schools headed by women than by men. However, staffs of male principals perceived themselves as "going through the motions" of problem-solving more than did staffs of female principals (Kobayaski, p. 130-A).

Gross and Trask found that female principals generally are more concerned about individual student differences and problems than are male principals. However, with one exception, they found no evidence of any significant difference between men and women principals in the emphasis placed on maintaining school discipline. The exception was that women principals did give discipline greater emphasis in schools that had high socio-economic status (Mickish, p. 12). There is no difference between men and women principals in the amount of support given to a teacher in conflict with a pupil (Fishel and Pottker, p. 112).

Women and men principals do not differ in importance attributed to the academic performance of pupils as a basis for judging

a school (Mickish, p. 111). However, the academic achievement of students in schools having female principals has been found to be either equal to (Hines and Grobman) or better than (Gross and Trask) that of students in schools with male principals (Fishel and Pottker, p. 112).

Teacher performance is also better under women superiors according to the results of a measure of the responses of four to ten teacher-observers in the Gross and Trask study. Wiles and Grobman, Hines and Grobman, Morsink, Spence, and Kobayashi also found that women principals emphasize and bring about a greater amount of productive behavior on the part of their teachers (Fishel and Pottker, p. 111).

Hoyle and Randall contend that the recognition of potential problems and the concomitant action taken on them greatly affect the quality of instructional programs. Results of their study "revealed that teachers described women principals as noticing potential problems and evaluating results of action significantly more often than male principals." (Mickish, p. 10) More specifically, Hoyle found women principals to be more aware of potential problem students. In addition, Hemphill, Griffiths and Fredericksen found women principals place greater emphasis on evaluating the learning process taking place in their schools, are willing to assist beginning teachers with instructional problems, are more concerned with the objectives of teaching, and make greater efforts to involve students in school affairs (Fishel and Pottker, pp. 111-112).

Hoyle and Randall state that women principals are probably more sensitive to the problems of other women and point out that since the majority of teachers are women, perhaps female principals would be more sympathetic and understanding than men when dealing with most teachers (Mickish, p. 3). Women principals have more teaching experience which tends to support that they have better understanding and are more sympathetic to the problems and situations that face teachers (Mickish, p. 4). Moreover, Wiles and Grobman found that women principals have better and closer communication and display greater respect for the dignity of the teachers in their school. Women principals are less rigid in their response to schools' situations, according to Hines and Grobman, and Van Meir states that women principals are better at reconciling conflicting demands. These descriptors are typical of a leader who operates under the democratic style of management. Wiles and Grobman, Hines and Grobman, Hemphill, Griffiths and Fredericksen, and Morsink have all determined that women principals are generally more democratic in the way they operate their schools than are men. In addition, teacher morale in schools with women principals is found to be either equal to (Gross and Trask, Kobayashi) or higher than (Hines and Grobman) in schools with male principals (Fishel and Pottker, p. 112).

Female administrators' competencies in the area of community relations have also been established by behavioral research. A 1971 study by Mann indicates that women principals are more often guided by community preferences when deciding on school operations. According to Fishel and Pottker, this makes them especially well-

suited for administrative positions in urban areas where community groups are making increased demands for a voice in educational decisions (Fishel and Pottker, p. 389).

The Hines and Grobman study further substantiates community desire for involvement. Pupils and parents in this study responded favorably to democratic principals, and parents participated in educational matters to a higher degree if the school was headed by a relatively democratic principal (except parents whose incomes were under $2,000 or who had only grade school education) (Mickish, pp. 7-8).

Similarly, parents whose children are in schools having women principals are involved in school affairs as often as (Gross and Trask) or more often than (Hemphill, et. al.) parents whose children are in schools with male principals (Fishel and Pottker, p. 112).

Studies by Hines and Grobman indicate that parents look favorably upon schools with women principals more often than they do upon schools with men principals. In addition, parents approve more often of the learning activities and outcomes in schools with women principals, and approve more frequently the way in which women principals handle student discipline (Fishel and Pottker, p. 112).

The competencies of female administrators which the writer has just discussed have been attributed to them by both male and female teachers, students, and parents. However, Morsink, Spence, and others have found that the person's perception of a leader on certain dimensions of leader behavior is related to the sex of the individual. The writer attributes this descrepancy to the

varying degrees of acceptance of women in administration and to the experience or lack of experience of having worked in a school headed by a woman. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the results of attitudinal studies as they relate to the acceptance of women as administrators.

Acceptance Studies

As boys and girls progress through school, both male and female students' opinions of boys grow increasingly more positive and their opinions of girls increasingly more negative. College women believe that men desire a woman who is extremely passive and who places wifely and familial duties above her own personal and professional development. In addition, college women respond negatively to women who have achieved high academic or vocational success (Frazier, p. 71).

In his study of prejudice Goldberg gave 140 college women six articles in both "masculine" fields and "feminine" fields, some signed Joan T. McKay, others as John T. McKay. The students rated the articles for value, persuasiveness, profundity, writing style, professional competence, professional status, and ability to sway the reader. In both the male and female fields, out of 54 comparisons 44 students favored John (Hochschild, pp. 256-257).

Bem and Bem repeated the same experiment informally in their own classrooms and discovered that male students show the same implicit prejudice against female authors that Goldberg's female students showed (Freeman, p. 296).

Pheterson, Kiesler, and Goldberg showed eight paintings to 120 female students.

> Half of the sample thought the artist was a man, half thought it was a woman; half thought the painting was just an entry, half thought it a prize-winning painting. The women judged the female entry less favorably than identical male entries, but judged the female winners equal to identical male winners. Thus, women devalued the work of women in competition until it received recognition, but of course, given the bias against triers, that recognition is hard for a women to earn (Hochschild, p. 257).

Such attitudes appear to prevail in professions as well and make acceptance difficult for a female to attain. Most women have favorable attitudes toward the idea of women in management. However, Harvard Business Review found 41 percent of the men surveyed are "anti-woman executive" in principle and 35 percent are "pro-woman executive." One in four businessmen proclaim neutral feeling.

Krusell and Alexander developed a questionnaire to determine how managers perceive women and their relationship to work. Analysis of the managers' responses revealed that certain factors influence their ability to accept women on an equal basis with men in the work situation. Of the seven factors, managers felt most strongly about deference; they felt that certain norms define interaction between men and women, most notably, rules of etiquette and politeness between the two sexes in public (Fidell, p. 74). Although capability had the lowest mean factor score of all seven factors, managers did not feel that women would make good supervisors. The managers indicated that they felt that other men and women would prefer having male supervisors and that they themselves would be uncomfortable with a woman supervisor (Fidell, p. 74).

Managers who had the lowest regard for women as workers worked with women subordinates. "Research on contact between minority and dominant groups indicate that, in order for a reduction in prejudice to occur between two groups, interaction has to be on an equal basis." (Fidell, p. 76). Nevertheless, those managers who had women co-workers had more negative reactions

toward women than mangers who did not work with women. Fidell explains:

> Possibly managers may experience loss of esteem when women are given positions comparable to their own. This reaction has a socio-historical base in which the response, "that's woman's work" meant that if a woman could do the job, it was menial or not as important. Although there is no research evidence attesting to this fact, it has been found that, in factories, men would not take jobs in which 60 percent of the workers were women.

When men and women officially interact as peers, traditional norms define the situation either as one in which men should only interact with other men (as in competition) or men should take the dominant role (as in decision-making) (Fidell, p. 76). A man competing for advancement wants to win. If he has to lose, he would rather lose to a man, thanks to the traditional male role (Loring, p. 135).

Negative attitudes about female managers in general appear to prevail about female school administrators in specific. Since behavioral studies have shown that women principals generally perform more capably than male principals, it is interesting to note that most attitudinal studies show a preference for males. Matheny, Neidign, Linton and the National Education Association all found males prefer working for male administrators (Fishel and Pottker, p. 113).

In a 1973 National Education Association survey, classroom teachers were asked whether they preferred to teach under men or women principals. Of the respondents, 54.9 percent of women preferred male principals, 1.6 percent preferred female principals, and 43 percent had no preference. Of the male teachers who

responded, 45.9 percent preferred male principals, 2.5 percent preferred female principals and 51.6 percent expressed no preference (Kaye, p. 4-5). However, numerous studies have found women teachers to be more favorable toward working with women administrators than are men teachers (Fishel and Pottker, p. 113). Barter concludes:

> Although men teachers on the whole have a decided preference for men principals, women teachers do not. Since the majority of elementary school teachers are women, the attitudes of elementary teachers towards a woman principal should not be a great obstacle to her success as an administrator (Barter, p. 1313).

Although women teachers are generally more accepting than males, many women do hesitate to support other women in positions of authority. Fenske attributes this lack of support partially to acceptance of traditional beliefs that men should be in positions of power and partially to concern about men's opinions of them and fear of non-acceptance by men (Fenske, p. 61).

It is encouraging to note that those male teachers who have worked with a female administrator are more favorable toward women as principals than those male teachers who have not, according to Barter, Warwick and the National Education Association (Fishel and Pottker, p. 113).

For the most part, "men and women in education typically accept the social order and accept the sex role norms governing the appropriateness of male and female. In fact, several women active in sex role issues in schools often complain that older female teachers are their most ardent opposition." (Schmuck, p. 102) Younger women show greater preference toward working

for a man than do older women, according to Parlato (Parlato, p. 915-A). Similarly, Krause's study shows that after 15 years of teaching experience, attitudes toward women principals tended to be more favorable (Krause, p. 968). Barter found that teachers with the most and least experience were more favorable to women principals (Barter, p. 1312).

Women interested in the principalship as a career were more favorable toward women principals than women not interested in that career in the Barter study (Barter, p. 1312). Krause compared attitudes by departments and found all subject fields were favorable except mathematics teachers, who were neutral as a group toward women administrators. The most favorable attitudes were shown by teachers of art, music, home economics, and special education (Krause, p. 968). Persons with a BA as their highest level of formal education were found by Lemon to be more favorable than those persons with either more or less formal education. Teachers were also found to be more favorable than both school board members and men administrators. There was no signifiant difference between school board members and men administrators. Women school administrators had the most favorable attitude toward female administrators (Lemon, p. 1718-A). Vlahos, however, found that administrators at Broward Community College responded with a more positive view of women and their abilities than did staff and faculty when surveyed (Vlahos, p. 9). Nevertheless, administrators, as well as staff and faculty, do not believe that the college should give priority to women applicants when more women are required to attain the goals of the Affirmative Action Plan (Vlahos, p. 13).

Several female administrators indicated that the Women's Movement has resulted in their now being viewed as a threat instead of being respected for their abilities, a negative effect of the emphasis on Women's Rights (Reeves, p. 135).

A survey of parents conducted in 1975-76 nationwide found that 39 percent of the respondents preferred a man as principal, while seven percent preferred a woman, with 52 percent stating that it made no difference to them (MFT Action). It appears from comparison of these data with attitudinal studies of educators that the community is more ready to accept women in administration than are teachers, administrators, and boards of education. Further evidence is supplied by Dale:

> Only when top public school positions are elective rather than appointive do women educators stand a chance to hold a high administrative job. In 1950 six women held top state education positions--all elective, but as the states changed from general election to appointment, every woman was replaced by a man (Women: A Signifiant National Resource, p. 27).

Furthermore, a study of board of education presidents' attitudes concludes that the majority of respondents agree that boards would hire a male superintendent over an equally qualified female superintendent. Women board presidents (six of eight) particularly felt this to be true (Matheny, p. 2976-A).

Another type of person whose acceptance will be difficult for the newly hired female administrator to gain is the "Queen Bee." This competitive woman has been allowed into the system as a token but believes that her success is entirely her own doing and therefore rejects the notions that women on the whole face discrimination. The Queen Bee refuses to identify with

other women and chooses instead to identify with her male colleagues. She opposes any group approach to success and is highly rewarded for denigrating the efforts of other women. She is complimented for "looking so feminine" while "thinking like a man." The Queen Bee does not recognize the psychological evidence that people are affected by socialization, which convinces most other women that personal fulfillment lies in being a good wife and mother. She has gotten as far as she has in her career on her own and no longer needs a great deal of support (Berry and Kushner, pp. 173-176). Sizemore explains it this way: "We have participated too long in the rites and rituals of female inferiority. . . Once in an administrative role we strive not to act like women." And she provides this example:

> One woman appointed to a superintendency in a major metropolitan area selected as her first appointment a man whose experience and education was second to that of a woman who had applied for the same position. Having won her place, she did not want to be seen as partial to women (Sizemore, p. 4).

As recently as 1962 Bowman found that most of her New York City respondents believed that, while race and nationality should be irrelevant as criteria for promotion, age or sex were considered justifiable grounds for non-promotion (Nieboer, p. 100). Since attitude change often follows behavior change, it appears that such negative attitudes toward female administrators may continue until there are enough women administrators to have an effect on the existing attitudes and stereotypes. According to Wolman and Frank, one woman in a professional peer group not only has little or no effect on the group, but also runs the risk of becoming a casualty of the group process (Niedermayer, p. 101). Therefore

the specific hindrances the female administrator experiences as a minority member of the group, which could result in her being added to the casualty list, will be the focus of the next section.

Treatment Discrimination and Other Problems Encountered by Professional Women

> The small percentage of women who find their way into the male-dominated professions experience obstacles to full membership and to the accomplishment of their tasks. Above everything else stands the fact that they are women and that a large proportion of American men and women think that they ought not, or cannot, engage in professional activity (Epstein, p. 199).

The ways in which occupations are structured and the images and traditions associated with them have a profound effect not only on the selection of recruits but also on the ultimate success of the new people. Women have not shared the same worlds as their male colleagues and cannot count on them for the same assistance that people from the same backgrounds informally offer to one another. "Further, the changes in traditions and images which today have begun breaking down racial and ethnic barriers do not yet seem to have had the same effect on the sex barrier." (Epstein, pp. 151-152)

According to Merton, "occupations can be described as 'sex-typed' when a very large majority of those in them are of one sex and when there is an associated normative expectation that this is as it should be." When occupations are sex-typed, the sex status of the person who is of the minority sex becomes salient. For example, the male lawyer in a courtroom evokes a set of responses geared to the legal task, while the female lawyer in the same surroundings evokes feelings from observers that her sex is relevant to the performance of the job. Such consequences of sex-typing have generally inhibited the occupational success of women. While sex-typing of occupations may affect men where they are a

distinct minority, even where men constitute a minority, they seem to have a better chance to do well and be upwardly mobile. Although the majority of teachers are women, for example, men dominate top administrative posts (Epstein, p. 152).

> Women professionals in male-dominated professions have greater visibility than men simply because they are a minority. They are physically more visible at professional meetings and in other professional encounters, and their names identify their sex in their written work. When their work is good, it may get even greater notice than that of men who perform at the same level of competence. If they perform badly, the same is unfortunately true; they will stand out (Epstein, p. 181).

Many professional women testify that sex saliency ususally marks the start of each new professional encounter of the professional woman. They often feel self-conscious and unsure whether they will be received with surprise and whether the reception will be favorable. They are made to feel more conscious than men of the impresions they are making (Epstein, p. 190).

The results of a study done by Broverman and his colleagues indicated that clinicians' concepts of a healthy, mature man did not differ significantly from their concepts of a healthy adult. However, the clinicians' concepts of a mature, healthy woman differed significantly from their healthy adult concepts.

> In view of the within-sex variability, and the overlap between sexes, it seems inappropriate to apply different standards of health to men compared to women on purely biological grounds. . . Acceptance of an adjustment notion of health, then places women in the conflictual position of having to decide whether to exhibit those positive characteristics considered desirable for men and adults, and thus have their "feminity" questioned, that is, be deviant in terms of being a woman; or to behave in the prescribed "feminine" manner, accept second-class adult status, and possibly live a lie to boot (Broverman, Broverman, Rosenkrantz, Clarkson, Vogel, p. 173).

The working environment is always transmitting messages that the woman is unique, and she anticipates these messages. Some women overconform or overproduce in an attempt to make up for their down-graded status. Epstein points out that during the interviews she conducted, women in 'male' professions often asserted that they spent more time on work than a man would because they "must be better than a man." (Epstein, p. 191) Burgess also states that "whatever women do they must do twice as well as men to be thought half as good," and that this is perhaps the explanation for the fact that women are so hardworking when they go into administration (Burgess, p. 4). Even the male executives attending a conference at Harvard Business School agreed that women must be over-qualified to reach the top (Painter, p. 61). A woman's capabilities as a manager may be gradually accepted if she "proves" herself. A man easily proves he is capable while a woman must prove capability in spite of being female. She must prove that the assumed handicap of being female does not apply to her personally (Loring, p. 135).

Women managers must ask themselves to what degree they are willing to use expected "feminine" behavior in order to gain acceptance. Most people feel that some amount of game-playing is necessary for survival. Some women can use their charm and feel no duplicity in playing this role; others feel it is hypocritical and prefer the direct approach. Women must decide how openly to present themselves, how honestly to expresss independence or anger. Although few women managers explode in volume and language when angry, this doesn't mean women are less angry, only

that they are aware of expectations of masculine behavior versus feminine behavior (Loring, pp. 138-139). In addition, "to speak up, a woman usually has to put her job and perhaps her career on the line, where men typically do not." (Loring, p. 160)

Certain kinds of "feminine" behavior are potential traps for the woman manager. "She is often coaxed to come on more seductively. If she does, she probably will not be taken seriously in her work. If she doesn't, she may be accused of being too serious and therefore 'unfeminine.' If she assumes strong leadership, she may be received as 'coming on too strong.' If she doesn't give strong leadership, she is discounted as ineffective." (Loring, p. 139)

McGregor defines the professional manager as one who is "objective, unemotional, logical--a hard-nosed decision-maker dealing only with facts. He is expected to repress those aspects of himself that are associated with the feminine in our culture--softness, yielding, dependence and intuitiveness. To express emotion is seen as 'feminine weakness.'" This definition, a frequently used model for a managerial personality, creates a double-bind for men. If the male manager accepts the prescribed unemotional manager's role, he can't accept women as managers; if he accepts women as managers, he has to accept as permissible for the manager the emotions he has repressed in himself (Loring, p. 96).

Conflict between the male-role and the work-role creates another double-bind:

> If he's a man as prescribed, he cannot relate to a woman on an equal (male) basis; if he's his own person, relating equally to women, he risks being seen by other

> men as 'not much of a man'--or manager either. . . While managers can appreciate a woman's competence, they often find it difficult to simply accept it as just that. The idea that man 'controls his women' is widespread. When a woman becomes a manager functioning as his colleague or superior, control over her is no longer available nor appropriate for the man (Loring, p. 98).

Women administrators recognize the double-bind men are facing and the effect this double-bind has had on male treatment of female colleagues. "Men may feel uneasy and may try to compensate by being overly solicitous, congenial, courtly--or by demanding too little of the woman, or too much." Overprotection by male colleagues is a subtle form of discrimination that can result in many kindnesses being shown but can also stifle that female administrator who is desirous of exercising her expertise (Schmuck, pp. 98-99).

Epstein summarizes the situation of the female administrator:

> Status discrepancies make continuous role definitions necessary during interactions that should be routine. As a result, all group members are sensitized to the problems of ambiguity and are forced to form new ground rules for each situation. When an inappropriate status of a status set is activated in a professional context, refocusing on the appropriate status must occur if the professional task is to be accomplished (Epstein, p. 194).

Many of the people Schmuck interviewed alluded to or directly voiced the opinion that women administrators pose a "threat" to men in the profession. Several women advise aspiring female administrators not to show their competence too much--not to be too threatening to the male ego (Schmuck, p. 103). Women may also try to be as unobtrusive as possible, and not attract attention, by holding back in conversation. Women feel that their presence would interfer with the "normal" functioning of things; they sometimes

fear also that their friendliness will be misinterpreted as being sexual in nature (Epstein, p. 192).

Attempting to combine a career and homemaking appears to be another source of strain for many women, according to Cosser and Rokoff. Ginzberg found that marriage may (depending upon the woman's viewpoint) enable or force a woman to drop out of a career. Lopate's study showed that married women who do remain employed may feel what one writer described as "self-conscious gratitude toward their husbands for helping them to maintain a career" and for giving them the emotional support needed to maintain two diverse and potentially conflicting roles. A consistent finding in studies of married professional women is that they see their own career as subordinate to their husband's (Bernard, p. 22).

Half of the women in Astin's sample of women doctorates reported that they utilize some sort of outside help. However, they felt that the difficulty of finding dependable, competent help constituted a major obstacle to their career development. The law makes no provisions for deducting housekeeper costs as business expenses. A couple earning two salaries may be raised to a tax bracket that, in combination with the housekeeper's wages, result in employment of both the husband and wife representing an actual financial loss to the family (Astin, p. 449).

In addition to feeling responsible for household duties in order that her career not be a financial drain on the family, a married professional woman, whose husband is successful in his career, is frequently burdened with entertaining her husband's business acquaintances.

"The necessity to allocate time among several roles has more serious implications for the professional role itself." Fully employed professional mothers tend to discard the more marginal professional tasks such as attendance at professional meetings, and they also spend fewer hours at their work than do male professionals even when such work is considered to be full time (Gross, p. 23).

The active professional is expected to become involved in professional organizations. However, in addition to lack of time, women's reticence to participate in professional organizations is due in part to unconcealed discrimination by these groups in the not-too-distant past. Women were often excluded from membership by legal barriers based on sex, other grounds or by informal means. Although women are not excluded from membership in these organizations today, they have not been permitted full participation at decision-making levels (Epstein, p. 183).

Another reason for the lack of women in these organizations is that in some professions, women's organizations were established in response to the extreme discrimination against them. This depletes the pool of women in the major professional organizations. The women's organizations meet some of the unique needs of professional women. They serve as friendship and support groups in a sometimes hostile professional world. They act as clearing houses for contacts. In addition, ideas and information can be exchanged among colleagues in the women's associations without intrusion of the sexual component. Women also report that it is easier to question a female colleague on a point of information, because asking

a male colleague might reinforce the male view of women as incompetents.

Women may gain positions of leadership in the parallel organizations. Some women thus become visible to the profession by their activity within the female sector (Epstein, pp. 187-188). Dr. Dorothy Johnson gives an example of women's under-representation at top positions in professional organizations by pointing out the lack of women officers in AASA, as well as the fact that few women are appointed to serve on any AASA committees and few are ever invited to participate in convention activities (Women; A Significant National Resource, p. 31).

Astin found that one-third of her sample of women doctorates indicated that employer discrimination had been a problem in their career development. "The proportions of the total sample of respondents citing experiences with each of the different types of discrimination were as follows:

Prejudices against hiring a woman	25%
Differential salaries for men and women with same training and experience	40%
Differential sex policies regarding tenure, seniority, and promotions	33%
Unwillingness on the part of the employer to delegate administrative responsibility and authority to professional women	33%
Other forms of sex discrimination	12%"

(Astin, p. 452)

While all women professionals have numerous problems in common, the woman administrator has some that are unique because she is such a rare species. Some of these forms of discrimination may

include the following documented problems:

(1) More male elementary principals (70 percent) than female elementary principals (48.1 percent) in a Virginia study were employed for a full twelve months (Seawell, p. 47).

(2) "Women feel they must get a man to express their viewpoints as the men in the top administration and on the board do not credit women's professional advice." (Kalamazoo, p. 12)

(3) "A woman is expected to do much of her own secretarial work" (Kalamazoo, p. 12) and to take notes at committee meetings since she "has the skill." (Webster, p. 21)

(4) When a women does have her own secretary, she finds that often "secretaries (and other staff) are far more willing to carry out important tasks for males than for females, as a result of socialization of secretaries, even though most are female." (Deckard, p. 127)

(5) Male colleagues rarely ask her to join them at lunch or for a cocktail after work (After all, someone may see them and tell their wives!) (Webster, p. 21).

(6) Few or no role models exist for her to follow. She can be neither one of the boys nor one of the girls. There is a tendency on the part of her colleagues to think of her as an accessory similar to one's secretary or one's wife (Garson, p. 170).

(7) Faculty may bypass her in the hierarchy unless support is given by the male administrators (Garson, pp. 170-171).

Many male superiors expect women to fail and may even unconsciously look for signs of that failure. This may cause the woman to lose self-confidence, to become disoriented on the job, and,

finally, to perform as expected unconsciously by her superior (Coursen, p. 15). "By handling the situations involving men and women administrators differently, a school system reaffirms a typically sacred belief that men seem to work out better for important jobs than do women." (Where are the Women Superintendents?, p. 6).

If a woman does not recognize this subtle discrimination, she may lose confidence in her ability. If she does recognize this elusive discrimination, she must choose between allowing seeds of cynicism and disillusionment to grow within her personality or she must fight a lonely battle which often separates her from her friends and lowers, even more, her chance for success (Where are the Women Superintendents?, p. 6).

(8) The woman is professionally isolated and virtually without psychological support. She can share common problems with male administrators, but one unsharable burden is the problem imposed upon her by her male colleagues (Schmuck, p. 82).

Of course, as women gain eminence, the problem of lack of acceptance diminishes or disappears for them. Eminence often correlates with age. Many of the feminine role components attached to the female sex status become less intrusive in interactions between men and women as the woman grows older. Although a woman is apt to encounter resistance if her professional status requires exercise of authority over others, she will probably encounter less resistance if she is older (Epstein, pp. 175-176).

In April of 1973 Courtney Fenske conducted a series of interviews to receive the opinions of women administrators in the

secondary schools of Minnesota. These women were asked if they had evidenced sex discrimination in regard to their own professional work, and if so, the nature of this discrimination.

Although most women denied having personally experienced discrimination, the comments they offered point to the fact that there is discrimination, subtle, if not overt. Fenske attributes this contradiction to (1) lack of awareness of subtle discrimination due to conditioning, (2) compared to their less-successful sister, they have been less affected by discrimination, and (3) women are personally concerned that their comments may affect the security of the positions they hold (Fenske, pp. 147-148).

The following thoughts were shared in regard to differential treatment on the job:

1. Ms. Betty Jo Zander, Assistant to the Superintendent of Minneapolis Public Schools, points out that as a lone women in the field, "one has the impression of being constantly observed for any faults--that one feels the necessity of being twice as intelligent, twice as healthy, and twice as energetic to constantly prove one's worth. For example, any absence is the cause of more notice than if it occurred to a man. She says she does not mind this close observation, for she feels that a woman, by proving her worth, is in the end benefited by this attention." (Fenske, pp. 145-146)

2. Sister Anne Willis, Program Coordinator of Regina High School in Minneapolis, stated that sometimes a woman administrator is the subject of much curiosity and/or is alienated by the indifference of others (Fenske, p. 138).

3. Unconscious discrimination which results from cultural

bias was mentioned by Ms. Joanne Shekleton, Assistant Principal of North Senior High School in North St. Paul. This type of bias includes such statements as: "You fellows must do something. . ." (Fenske, p. 137)

4. Edith Cavender, Assistant Principal of Chaska Senior High School, was asked to identify herself as the wife of whichever principal at an NASSP meeting (Fenske, p. 135).

5. The most frequently mentioned type of differential treatment mentioned by the women administrators interviewed by Fenske was that which expresses itself in meeting situations. Ms. Patricia Hill, Administrative Aid at Technical High School in St. Cloud, stated that "it is difficult to fit into the social scheme when men gather into groups at different tables and backslapping occurs. One can often feel the change in the attitude of a table of men as one approaches. . . This makes for difficulties at conventions, when one needs to join with associates in informal conversation. . . She feels a successful woman administrator must push herself to overcome hesitation at joining such groups." (Fenske, pp. 133-134) Sister Helen Saffert, Principal of New Ulm Cathedral High School, agreed with Ms. Hill and added that women have to initiate all attempts to get acquainted and converse with the men principals (Fenske, p. 141). Mrs. Ray Wodarz, retired Principal of Browerville High School, agreed with Ms. Hill and Sister Helen as to the assertiveness necessary in such meeting situations (Fenske, p. 136). Furthermore, Ms. Patricia McCart, Program Coordinator of the St. Paul Open School, noted an assumption at informal meetings that the male-oriented

atmosphere will be maintained. She added that she had not personally attended many of these meetings and had not been encouraged to do so (Fenske, p. 143).

Both Ms. Hill and Mrs. Wodarz stated that feelings of alienation only apply to strangers--not to gatherings involving groups of men who already know them. In these gatherings both women felt respected and accepted (Fenske, pp. 134, 136).

Ms. Betty Jo Zander feels that women can help to curb much of the differential treatment by refusing to pour coffee, or to take notes at meetings, etc. These and other types of consciousness raising will discourage the continuation of this type of discrimination (Fenske, p. 145). However, as Ms. Hill points out, sometimes men are overly careful in group situations to have a man as secretary or pouring the coffee, emphasizing the situation. As Fenske points out, this is a continuation of old traditions because it still points out a woman as something different to be treated specially (Fenske, p. 134).

Ms. Fenske alluded to a perceptual problem when assessing the degree and nature of discrimination reported by her interviewees. The writer also noticed discrepancies in responses to survey questions offered by respondents. Therefore, the degree of awareness of women to the more subtle types of discrimination will now be discussed.

Perception of Bias

According to Dale:

> Scientific data on the operation and incidence of job discrimination against women in the field of education are extremely difficult to obtain. . . Some women themselves are unaware that their ambitions are being blunted and redirected, and many other women are reluctant to discuss the infuriating and demanding encounters they have had with job discrimination (Dale, p. 124).

Many studies show a discrepancy between women's perception of their situation and the perceptions of it by social scientists. "Mitchell and Staff found that women students indicate less discrimination than their male peers report exist. Similarly, Tinker found reports of discrimination against women in general to be frequent, but few respondents felt personally discriminated against." (Fidell and Delamater, p. 11)

In addition, Levitin and her colleagues point out that although there was evidence of objective discrimination against about 95 percent of the women workers in their study, only 7.9 percent reported discrimination on their jobs. The authors of this study considered that possibly women may not know what equivalently qualified men are paid elsewhere. They may attribute some of the disparity to factors they regard as legitimate. They may compare themselves to other women rather than to men. They may believe that, in principle, men and women should receive unequal occupational rewards. They may attribute discrimination to factors such as age and race rather than to sex. Or they may restrict the term discrimination to instances in which discrimination is consciously planned and executed by some organizational decision maker (Delamater and Fidell, p. 95).

The Women's Rights Committee of the Dayton Public Schools attributes the low level of awareness by women in that district to the fact that the sexism that exists in the district is subtle (The Time Is Now, p. 9).

Evidence of discriminatory differences in the rank and pay of equally qualified men and women has been substantiated by Loeb and Ferber as well as discrimination in hiring and in appointment to administrative and committee positions. About as many males as females appear to be aware of the former but not the latter form of bias (Loeb and Ferber, p. 239).

Married women seem more aware than single women of discrimination, possibly because they have, as suggested earlier, experienced more of it (Loeb and Ferber, p. 239).

Attempts to refute reports of sex discrimination are frequently made by claiming that the women who say that such discrimination has affected their careers adversely are those who have been unsuccessful professionally and who are merely trying to rationalize their own incompetence. However, Astin found that the women who reported experience with employer discrimination were also the ones who had more publications to their credit and who received more honors and awards for professional achievement (Astin, p. 453). The distinquishing factor here is that there is less overt conflict when women "know their place" than there is in competitive sex relations, where women don't "know their place." according to Van de Berge (Loeb and Ferber, p. 239). Stimpson has a different hypothesis:

> That the woman who entered doctoral training primarily because of a sincere interest in her field tends to feel that she has been discriminated against probably reflects her great dedication and commitment. Because of her high aspirations and achievements, she is probably less able than other women doctorates to accept the fact that she may be judged on the basis of an irrelevant criterion such as her sex (Astin, p. 453).

Turner and Turner found that "black females perceived significantly more occupational discrimination against women than did white females. The authors attribute this finding to the fact that an occupational career is a realistic prospect for the black female, but not for the white female who has been socialized to expect her primary involvement to be her home and family. Thus, since the white female does not go through the 'reality testing' with regard to employment that the black woman does, she is less likely to make a realistic assessment of this situation." (Unger and Denmark, p. 640)

The Kalamazoo study found that "when asked if they were aware of unfair treatment in the system to others or themselves, the response was overwhelmingly negative. Of those who did feel there had been unfairness, more women felt it was based first on sex and second on race and men felt it was based on race and age." (Kalamazoo, p. iii)

The reduction of the discrepancy between reality and perception is a major goal of many consciousness-raising efforts (Fidell and Delamater, p. 11). Tibbetts stresses the need for awareness in order to bring about change.

> When individuals do not realize that a situation exists, there is nothing they can do to improve it; and when people have been propagandized since birth

to live by sexist doctrines that "have stood basically unchallenged throughout centuries" (Engin, et. al., 1973), it is difficult to make them question dogma that they have never seen opposed by anyone (Tibbetts, p. 181).

Management Style

Loring points out the effect of the organizational climate in terms of the prevailing managerial styles on the success of moving women into and upward in management positions:

> I. The more rigid and traditional the sex-role expectations, the more authoritarian the climate. The more acceptance of women as individuals, as people, the more egalitarian the climate.
>
> II. The more authoritarian the climate, the more likely will women be found in low-pay, low-skill jobs. The more egalitarian the climate, the more likely will women be found participating in a wide range of positions at management decision-making levels (Loring, p. 72).

Loring goes on to state the probable impact of externally imposed affirmative action for women given the first two expectations:

> III. To comply with new laws, executive orders and court decisions, top management may find affirmative action programs for women need to be authoritarian in order to accomplish rapid behavorial change.
>
> IV. Such authoritarian methods will probably meet with passive resistance, slow erosion of gains or outright subversion of company policy unless management also undertakes a program intended to change attitudes (Loring, p. 73).

Training for attitude changes is likely to produce more participatory management styles. If subordinates believe top management intends to stay with its affirmative action policy, they will tend to change their attitudes as they have both more contact with women in their new positions and a strong model of change (Loring, p. 73). Survey subjects also mention the importance of support from superiors in order to gain acceptance.

Awareness is necessary in order to have open, clear communication, uncluttered by what is role-expected. In addition, to achieve

trust in a team effort, it is necessary to let go of acceptance/ rejection games and to recognize the value of self (Loring, p. 128). Again, respondents stressed both open communication and being straight-forward and honest.

The very qualities that are often attributed to women because they are women, are widely demonstrated by men in organizational climates that require dependency and passivity from them. In the exploitative climate expectations for all employees are the same as are widely held for female sex-role behavior: passive, dependent, subordinate. "Men and women often share the experience of making decisions in the name of a superior; women as administrative assistants or 'assistants to,' men as managers with little influence of their own." (Loring pp. 74-76) For example, one respondent to the survey stated that although she has the same duties as an assistant principal, she is not classified as such by the district.

In number of positions for women, patriarchal organizations often see themselves as non-discriminatory. However, the women in these positions are merely tokens to whom management can point to "prove their innocence" of sex bias. As one survey respondent has heard: "We have a woman principal. Therefore no one can accuse us of sex bias." In advancement potential, the old patterns persist. Positions remain sex-typed, with very few women allowed to rise. This paternalistic style of management requires acceptance of dependency. However, women are increasingly opposing the game-playing required in this environment (Loring, p. 77).

In a consultative climate women are perceived more as persons, less as stereotypes. "The needs for recognition, self-esteem, of contributing to the development of the organization's processes and confirmation of self-worth are met to a greater degree." There is no indication that the number of women in management is significantly different, nor that the advancement potential is improved, but it makes the invisible ceiling for women more tolerable when at least some higher level needs can be satisfied. "While it is easier to integrate women into the managerial network in this climate, they are still seen as women first and managers second." (Loring, pp. 80-81)

In the participatory climate individual competence tends to supersede sex-role expectations. In this climate, it is possible for women to be located at any position within the organization, including managerial and other decision-making roles, and supervision of men as well as women (Loring, p. 81).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

In order to obtain comments regarding treatment discrimination (discrimination that women may confront once they have obtained jobs), women public school administrators in the state of Minnesota were surveyed. At the time the author was writing a preliminary paper on the subject, in March of 1975, names and addresses of administrators were obtained with the assistance of Minni Baxter and by permission of Roger Delgehausen of the Teacher Certification Section of the Minnesota State Department of Education.

The research method was based on the development of a questionnaire instrument designed to collect data on (1) whether administrators perceived supervisory difficulties which they would attribute to sex bias, (2) what portion of the staff view women in administration generally with sex bias, (3) which sex (if either) is more accepting of women in administration, (4) what age group is more accepting of women administrators, (5) what specific problems were encountered by administrators which might be considered unique to women, (6) what stereotypic statements female administrators are subjected to, and (7) what have women administrators done toward eliminating discriminatory treatment.

It is important to note that the results of the survey are perceptual responses of female administrators and are dependent upon the degree of awareness of each woman as well as her frame of reference. Another limitation of this study is that no tests

were run for validity or reliability. However, survey responses are supported by other researchers as reported in Chapter II, Review of Literature. In addition, the responses of the second survey group were similar to those of the first. The fact that the survey subjects of both groups held comparable roles further adds to the reliability of the study.

The computer printout of women administrators in Minnesota for the school year 1974-75 listed 167 women. The author was unable to locate addresses for nine women. The questionnaire, along with a cover letter, was sent to 150 elementary principals, 7 secondary principals and 1 assistant superintendent. The rate of response was 67 percent (106 returns out of 158 questionnaires sent).

In order to determine what changes might have occured between the school years 1974-75 and 1975-76 regarding numbers of women in administrative positions and treatment discrimination as perceived by women administrators, another survey was conducted in February and March of 1976 of newly hired women. The 1975-76 printout of public school female administrators was supplied by Roger Delgehausen immediately upon availability.

In addition, Ardis Esterby, Administrative Assistant to Mr. David Meade, Executive Secretary of the Minnesota Association of Secondary School Principals, was contacted. Ms. Esterby supplied a list of women members of MASSP. This listing provided additional names and addresses of women who are administrative interns, assistant principals, or serve in some other administrative capacity, not included on the printout provided by Mr. Delgehausen.

The second survey group included 19 elementary school principals, 11 secondary school principals, 12 secondary assistant principals, 5 secondary administrative assistants, 5 secondary administrative interns, 1 superintendent, and 8 secondary women in other classifications of administrative positions. The survey instrument used was the same questionnaire as was sent to the survey subjects in the first survey group. The rate of response was 62 percent (38 returns out of 61 questionnaires sent).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF SURVEY

Although a large majority of the principals surveyed in 1974-75 said they have not experienced supervisory difficulties which they would attribute to sex, a majority estimated that there are a few people on their staffs who do view women administrators with sex bias. Most felt that men and women are equally accepting.

The greatest difference in the responses to the second survey compared to the responses to the first survey is that a much larger percentage of respondents in the second group said they have experienced supervisory difficulties which they would attribute to sex bias (32 percent in the second survey compared to 17 percent in the first survey). This difference is also reflected in the response to the second question in that a greater portion of the respondents in the second survey group believe there are "some" and not just a "few" people on the staff who view women in administration with sex bias. Perhaps awareness levels have been raised, or perhaps the women in the second group did experience more discrimination because they were recently hired and were not yet established in the system.

The greater percentage of respondents surveyed in 1974-75 believe that those persons between the ages of 31 and 50 are the most accepting age group, whereas the 1975-76 respondents by percentage felt that those persons under 30 years of age accepted female administrators more readily. Perhaps this difference can be attributed to average age differences of respondents of the

two survey groups. Although age of survey subjects was not asked, it is likely that the average age of the first survey group is higher than of the second group since those persons in the second group were recently hired or were presently doing their internships. It may be that administrators gain acceptance more easily from people close to their own age.

Listed on the following pages for comparison are the survey questions and the number of responses to each by year. Percentages do not total 100 percent due to rounding of fractions and because not all respondents answered every question.

SURVEY QUESTIONS		1974-75		1975-76	
		no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
1. Have you experienced supervisory difficulties which you would attribute to subordinates' attitudes toward women in the role of administrator?	yes	18	17%	12	32%
	no	84	79%	26	68%
2. What portion of your staff would you estimate view women in administration with sex bias?	majority	0	0%	0	0%
	several	7	7%	3	8%
	some	12	11%	13	34%
	few	45	42%	14	37%
	none	38	36%	6	16%
3. Which sex on your staff has been more accepting of a women in the position of administrator?	male	0	0%	3	8%
	female	13	12%	4	11%
	about the same	84	79%	29	76%
4. Which age group has been more accepting of you in an administrative position?	under 30	19	18%	16	42%
	31-50	45	42%	12	32%
	over 50	7	7%	0	0%
	about the same	24	23%	13	34%

Question #7 on the survey instrument asks: "What statements relating to your role have you heard which you would consider sex stereotyping?" Listed in the following chart are the responses to questionnaire statements for each year and additional comments offered by respondents. These statements are grouped into six categories and given brief headings which describe their message.

It cannot be said that these statements are necessarily false. For example, a man may be able to get more action--especially if there is sex bias in the district office. Many women don't want the responsibility of an administrative job because the socialization process has taught them to believe they can't handle it. The element these statements do have in common is that they are all related to sex bias in administration either directly or indirectly and that they tend to categorize female administrators in a way the male administrator is not categorized.

I. Basic male-female stereotyping (i. e. "You are a woman, and women are. . . ")	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
Men are easier to work for.	18	17%	5	13%
That's an emotional decision.	8	8%	3	8%
I don't tell the principal anything--you know women can't keep secrets.	3	5%	0	0%
She's not bad looking for a principal.	14	13%	13	34%
I bet she would start crying if . . .	2	2%	1	3%
I knew this was the wrong time of the month to ask you that.	3	3%	1	3%
Additional Comments of Respondents:				
I felt you would understand. I felt I could talk to you about this.				
I don't think you should work alone in the building at night.				
My assistant is a man so how can he take orders from a woman? He must be a sissy.				

II. Statements possibly affected by affirmative action and their relationship to recognition of competence	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
She just got the job because she is a woman.	5	5%	12	32%
Additional Comments of Respondents:				
We have a woman principal. Therefore, no one can accuse us of sex discrimination.				
You're our token woman.				

III. Statements implying an ulterior motive (i. e. "You must be sick mentally to want this job.")
Comments of respondents:
Some man must have hurt you badly at some time.
You don't like men.

IV. Statements to remind women to "stay where they belong" (i. e. "know your place")	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
Why don't you go home where you belong.	4	4%	1	3%
Women have no business ordering men around.	7	7%	2	5%
Additional Comments of Respondents:				
Wouldn't you be happier as a teacher?				
It's a man's job.				
Women don't want the responsibility of an administrative job.				
Women should be subordinate to men.				
Why don't you just get married?				

V. Statements which question the authority and power of women and imply necessity of brawn.
Comments of Respondents:
What the older boys need is a man.
Children don't really respect women principals.
Men really have more authority.
I can call on a man teacher if there's any trouble.
A man can really get action.
How can she handle tough discipline problems?

VI. Statements that imply that women do not need money and/or that the economic motive is the only acceptable motive for working.	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
What would a woman want with the principalship?	19	18%	11	29%
Additional Comments of Respondents:				
You are not head of a household so you probably aren't interested in raising principals' salaries.				
Why are you so anxious to get ahead. Your husband has a good job.				

Question #5 of the survey asks, "What specific problems have you encountered which you would consider unique to a woman in a supervisory role?" Listed in the following chart are the survey statements with the number of responses to each and additional problems listed by respondents for each survey year. These problems are categorized by general type of problem with a brief heading describing the similarity of the problems in each group.

TYPE OF PROBLEM

I. Responsibility not delegated; authority not given or accepted	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
Not given the same responsibilities and/or authority men formerly in the same position had	3	8%	11	10%
Staff doesn't take your suggestions seriously	5	5%	2	5%
Staff seems more skeptical of your decisions than you suspect they would be of a male principal's	12	11%	2	5%
Staff skirts you in the chain of command to "talk to a man"	10	9%	9	24%
Staff questions your knowledge of budgeting when the school is pressed for funds or when they can't get everything they want for their area	5	5%	2	5%
Additional Problems Listed by Respondents:				
Decisions made by superintendent, male principal, and male staff				

TYPE OF PROBLEM

II. Lack of communication due to traditional male-female relationships	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement:				
Not included in district-level decisions	27	25%	11	29%
Additional Problems Listed by Respondents:				
Left out of informal groups where much is learned--peer interaction				
I am outside of the informal organization of the district--the principals ignore me in mal communications. I do not have any co gues in the real sense.				
A general feeling that I have to invite myself to meetings				
It isn't anything intentional. The other administrators just sandwich business in between sports, which sort of leaves me out.				

TYPE OF PROBLEM

III. Lack of support	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statements:				
Not given the backing by district office that male principals in your district are given	13	12%	4	11%
Lack of confidence in you displayed by district office	11	10%	3	10%
Expected by district office to do much of your own clerical work	21	21%	9	24%
Additional Problem Listed by a Respondent:				
Though I function in our building as an assistant principal, I am not classified as an assistant principal by the district.				

The remaining problems were not foreseen by the author and were therefore not included on the questionnaire form. However, the problems listed by respondents (not already listed in chart form) have been categorized below:

IV. Ability to discipline questioned:

I better not make any mistakes in disciplining kids (taking "care of" all referred to me).

School board feels I am not as strong as a man and may have problems handling my junior high boys. So far I have not had one I could not handle.

Some skepticism from kids and parents about disciplinary role of female assistant principal.

V. Lonely job for a woman:

I find I have few people that I have a personal relationship with as the other administrators are men.

Regional and state meetings planned with men in mind--lonely place for women (left out).

My experience with teachers--both men and women--secretaries, custodians, parents, kids, has been very good. Other administrators have been the only source of problems. It is easy enough to say that people don't have to like you, but they do have to work with you, etc., but it's lonesome all the same, this me-them relationship.

VI. Demands of novelty status:

Inordinate number of committee assignments reflecting a need to have female representation

Handling female problems

Expected to do more and be brighter than men

Putting down sexist comments is more difficult because of the danger of it being interpreted that your position is "speaking" instead of you personally.

VII. Sex is salient--personal behavior expected in professional climate:

Expected to bolster men's egos (supervisors') by flattery and insincere admiration

Teasing by superior about women, which has a wearing effect on me

Once when interviewing for a job of assistant principal, the principal wanted to know how I'd feel about it if he closed his office door when I was in there. I said I'd suppose there were things to be discussed that the office staff shouldn't hear. He said, "No, I mean there are some women who don't like to be in a closed room with a man." I really laughed. Obviously, I didn't get the job.

The respondents to the questionnaire offered numerous suggestions about methods of decreasing bias against women in administration. Question #6 of the survey instrument asks, "What have you done in your district toward eliminating sex bias toward women supervisors?" Listed below are responses to questionnaire suggestions and additional suggestions offered by respondents toward this goal. Tables have been utilized for classification of similar techniques.

ACCEPTANCE TECHNIQUE

I. Methods involing organized outside help to affect indirect long-term results	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement:				
Human relations workshops	55	52%	19	50%
Additional Suggestions of Respondents:				
Member of Sex Bias Task Force of St. Paul Schools				
Member of Minnesota Women for Educational Equality, WEAL, NOW, DFL Feminist Caucus, Minnesota Women's Political Caucus				

ACCEPTANCE TECHNIQUE

II. Direct confrontation methods between the female administrator and individuals and/or groups	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of. responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement:				
One-to-one conferences with certain members of the staff	20	19%	19	50%
Additional Suggestions of Respondents:				
Constantly calling it to any group's attention may not be political apple-polishing but does become a more honest approach.				
Informal joking				
Call attention to unintentional biases.				
Defend your opinions and be able to support them.				
Be honest and straight forward in dealing with both men and women. Talk softly, carry a big stick, develop a sense of humor.				
A principal in a suburban system said it (administration) was a terrible job. I responded with "Oh, is that the way you feel about your job?" That was the end of the confrontation.				

ACCEPTANCE TECHNIQUE

III. Inactive methods	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement:				
Ignore the existence of sex bias, and it will go away in time	1	1%	3	8%
Additional Suggestions of Respondents:				
Assume you are going to be accepted--be positive.				
Be patient! Don't hit them over the head with all your opinions at once. Be patient, competent and fair, and they will eventually (?) be so to you.				

ACCEPTANCE TECHNIQUE

IV. Methods of influence by extra effort on the part of female administrators	1974-75		1975-76	
	no. of responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement: Work harder at making good decisions--competence will decrease the bias against women administrators	58	55%	28	74%

Additional Suggestions of Respondents:

Many of the following suggestions seem to ask only that a female do what any good administrator is expected to do, such as:

Doing job with as much professionalism as possible

I continually work at the job.

Competence is the key.

However, many respondents suggest that a female put forth more effort than her male colleagues, such as:

More training (PhD) than men may help acceptance.

I deliberately work longer and harder than most men.

Be twice as good.

Get a good education. Make contacts--friends and family can work for women too. Follow through--get into the job, carry the ball on certain projects, make things happen from your end, be on time, do your share, do more than your share, be thorough and dependable.

ACCEPTANCE TECHNIQUE

V. Methods that influence attitudes by management style	1974-75		1975-76	
	no of. responses	% age of responses	no. of responses	% age of responses
Questionnaire Statement:				
Include the staff in decision-making process	88	83%	32	84%
Additional Suggestions of Respondents:				
Ten percent or less time in office--90 percent or more with teachers and kids				
Solicit needs from staff.				
I tell my staff what is expected of them, and if it is not done, I visit with them about it. So far that has been sufficient. I try very hard to involve my staff in decision-making.				
Make decisions together rather than handing them down (frequently mentioned).				
Emphasize good human and public relations.				
Keep communication open. Be a good listener (frequently mentioned).				
Don't act like a dictator, and you won't have these problems.				

The remaining acceptance techniques were not foreseen by the author and were therefore not included on the questionnaire form. However, the methods for gaining acceptance given by respondents (not already listed in chart form) have been categorized below:

VI. Methods directed at increasing aspirational levels of other women which could have a long-term effect of acceptance in increasing numbers:

One-to-one conferences with some potential women candidates

Let other women talk to you about their aspirations.

Accept other women in like situations.

Show no sex bias yourself.

VII. Support of anti-discrimination laws:

Law suits are probably the only way to change the form of discrimination, if not the substance. Keep the wheel squeaking as loudly as possible.

Affirmative Action--active recruiting of "minority" candidates for supervisory positions, but hiring strictly on the basis of ability.

Support the Affirmative Action Program.

VIII. Self-concept and its importance toward acceptance:

Some respondents did not seem to think one's self-concept was of significance to the positions, as displayed in the following statements:

Don't care much about one's personal pride.

I really spend very little time thinking about this, or worrying whether I am receiving due respect. I took the job because it needed doing, and I continue for the same reason. Concern for self-importance does not increase happiness.

However, other respondents who dealt with this issue expressed opposiste feelings, as displayed in the following statements:

It is important to feel good about yourself and know you are capable in your field.

Think of myself as a person, administrator, and woman, in that order

Be me

Numerous respondents to the survey made specific mention as to which sectors of educational personnel have been unaccepting of them as women administrators. Although 79 percent of the survey respondents in 1974-75 and 76 percent in 1975-76 perceive men and women as about equally accepting, there do appear to be certain groups who are less accepting of women in administration than others.

At least a dozen respondents stated that there is more of a problem with being accepted by superiors and other principals in the district than there is with being accepted by the staff. Some respondents felt that superiors and principals in other schools thought of them as a threat. (Possibly they are not used to competing with a woman. Possibly they fear that the woman will be promoted first because of affirmative action.)

The relationship of acceptance to security was emphasized by similar comments. One response stated that most criticism comes from male teachers who are on probation and insecure about their chances of promotion. Another commented that most problems are with beginning teachers who feel insecure in their new role. Still another comment was that most bias comes from young, single women. Perhaps those persons who are insecure in one way or another would like the security of having the traditional male principal.

Another faction of sex bias that was mentioned is the community. The tradition of the community may have some effect on the degree of acceptance. For example, ten principals from schools which have always had a female elementary principal stated that they believe this may have some effect on the lack of sex bias in their schools and/or communities. This is a significant number when one considers that this was an unsolicited comment, one that was not listed on the questionnaire.

Size of the community seems to have an indirect effect on the degree of acceptance of women administrators in the schools. Small communities usually have small schools. Twelve principals stated that they feel there are closer ties in small schools and that closer ties result in less sex bias. Similarily, some respondents teach while maintaining the principalship and feel that this brings about closer ties. An additional eight principals said they felt having taught in the school previous to being assigned as principal in that school seems to have a positive effect on acceptance.

Comparison of the 1974-75 and the 1975-76 computer printouts of administrative assignments in Minnesota reveals that the number of women in this state who hold administrative positions continues to decline. Mr. Roger Delgehausen of the Minnesota State Department of Education assured the author that no change has been made in the method of data acquisition and calculation between these two years.

NUMBER OF FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN MINNESOTA

1974-75 total	167
Women deleted in 1975-76	-53
Women added in 1975-76	+32
1975-76 total	146
TOTAL DECLINE IN NUMBER OF WOMEN	22

In summarizing the section on techniques used to decrease sex bias and increase the degree of acceptance, the data show an overwhelming majority of respondents stress efforts which could be classified as the participative change cycle.

"A participative change cycle is implemented when new knowledge is made available to the individual or the group." (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 159) This may be done by including the group in problem solving and goal setting. Responses indicating inclusions of staff in the decision-making process numbered eighty-eight. In addition, others stated that staff will be more committed to decisions if they help make them. This is supported by Hersey and Blanchard: "With the participative cycle, the main advantage is that once accepted, it tends to be long-lasting, since the people are highly committed to the change." (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 161)

Schools which have always had female principals reported a low degree of sex bias. This, too, can be related to the advantages of a participative change cycle. These principals were not placed in the schools by the coerced change cycle (affirmative action). Once they were accepted, the change was long-lasting. Women principals are still finding acceptance there.

Despite the advantages of a participative change cycle, it is often slow and evolutionary. Therefore, at this point the advantages of coerced change (position power) will be considered. A few respondents mentioned affirmative action as a method of decreasing sex bias. Affirmative action could be classified as a coerced change cycle, a change imposed on the system. The new contacts create new knowledge which tends to develop predispositions toward or against the change. Knowledge may develop commitment to the change and therefore begin to approximate participative change. (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 161)

The main advantage of coerced change is speed. Using position power, the State Department of Education can impose change almost immediately. The disadvantage of coerced change is that it may result in animosity (She only got the job because she's a woman) and possibly overt and covert behavior to undermine and overthrow (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 161) (skipped in chain of command, left out of decision making, etc.).

Human relations workshops could be classified as a participative change cycle (information made available) except for the fact that these workshops are required for recertification of staff, which makes it more of a coerced change cycle. This could approximate a participative change cycle, however, if the knowledge presented at the workshops develop commitment to change.

Because the participative change cycle presupposes inclusion of staff in decision making, it usually is implemented by a supervisor who holds to the high-relationships style of management. This democratic style stresses the concern for human relationships.

Elton Mayo argued that it is beneficial to look into human affairs (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 70). Survey data shows definite efforts in this area: (1) "Be a good listener," (2) "Smooth operation (easier for teachers . . .)," and (3) "Emphasize good human and public relations." These are just a few of the suggestions of respondents which show a high-relationship concern.

Comments referring to closer ties and working closely with staff are indicative of a high-consideration style of management. "Consideration refers to behavior indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between leader and members of his staff." (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 70) Many responses stressed a good, close working relationship with the staff. In addition, several principals commented that they have a capable staff. Both of these comments point to the trust, respect, warmth of a consideration style of leadership.

From the survey data compiled it could not be interpreted as to whether the principals surveyed have a low or high concern for production. Nor was the author able to observe the degree of task behavior (initiating structure).

High concern for intervening variables represent the internal state of the organization and may consist of capacity for effective interaction, communication, and decision making (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 119). Concern for intervening variables can be associated with concern for relationships and reinforces earlier analogies.

A number of investigators including Likert, Korman, and Fiedler have shown that different leadership situations require different leader styles. The Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness

Model contends that effectiveness results from a leader using a behavioral style that is appropriate to the environment. The environment includes the leader, followers, superiors, associates, organization and job demands (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 109).

Several respondents commented that it is more difficult to achieve acceptance from associates and superiors than from subordinates. The Cycle Theory suggests that a supervisor adapt style according to the level of maturity (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 134). When working with highly trained personnel (superiors and associates), the most effective leader style is often low task-low relationships. Therefore, the high relationships style that is successful with leader-subordinate interaction may be inappropriate when interacting with superiors and associates.

Another point to ponder here is that acceptance by superiors may be dependent on similarity of management style. Bosses sometimes expect subordinates to operate the same way they do (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 116). The frequent mention of close ties with staff would indicate that if a choice had to be made between the boss's expectations and the staff's expectations, the staff would be chosen.

According to Reddin's list of low and high flexibility demands (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 122), principals are in positions that require a high degree of adaptability. Even if a female can adapt her leadership style to situations and persons with whom she interacts, however, there seems to be a dilemma in dealing with sex bias in upper management levels. As one principal stated: "I had problems with acceptance until the staff got to know me." Although

it is possible for staff to "get to know" her through a high relationship style of management, principals are not allowed to operate in a high relationship style with superiors and associates--the group determines personal power of the leader (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 116). In addition, principals cannot use position power because their position has less authority than that of their superiors.

For purposes of discussion in this paper, the author has assumed that leader expectations coincide with leader styles. In reality this survey shows only leader expectations (i. e., how the leader thinks she behaves or should behave). In order to determine leader style accurately, followers must be surveyed as to how they perceive their leader's behavior (Hersey and Blanchard, p. 112).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary and Conclusions of Literature and Surveys

Successful functioning on any job, especially one that requires as much cooperation as does educational administration, requires a certain degree of acceptance as a person and as an administrator. Women in administrative positions experience more of a problem with gaining acceptance than do men because for women it requires "establishing" rather than already being "established."

Because educational administration is sex-typed as a "male" occupation, there is a tendency to assume that women do not have the interest or capacity for administrative positions. The stereotyping of characteristics and competencies in America is the root of both access and treatment discrimination.

It is true that fewer women than men aspire to administrative positions. However, this low level of aspiration can be attributed to the socialization of the American woman away from such "male" occupations and to the awareness on the part of women that the opportunity structure in administration is limited for them due to discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

Even if a woman is encouraged to prepare for an administrative position, she is bound to meet other roadblocks along the way. Sexism has resulted in a lower level of education for women than for men. Biased admissions policies, age restrictions, rigid course timetables, lack of adequate day care facilities, full-time

attendance necessary to receive financial aid, lack of female role models in American colleges, sexist attitudes of academic men, and attitudes of husband and family are some of the roadblocks that discourage women from preparing for administrative careers.

Society continues to expect women to take full-time responsibility for the care of children. Therefore, the drastic lack of adequate child care facilities results not only in preventing some women from receiving adequate training for a career, but also deters qualified women from applying for positions in school administration.

Women do not receive the encouragement from supervisors to prepare or apply for administrative positions that men do. In addition, the valuable experience of extra-curricular responsibility tends to be awarded to men. Posting of jobs is often a formality, and women often do not have the access to informal associations available to men. Screening committees and boards of education which make crucial decisions in selection are dominated by men, who tend to have more biased attitudes based upon sex than do women. Traditional stereotypes continue to influence recruitment and selection decisions despite the fact that research shows that individual differences of competence far outweigh sex differences.

Behaviorial research of administrators generally favors women. Those persons who have worked in schools headed by women are particularly favorable to women principals. Nevertheless, most attitudinal studies show a preference for males. Since attitudinal change often follows behavioral change, it appears that acceptance

of women as administrators is highly dependent upon increasing the number of women in such positions. Yet, the number of women administrators in Minnesota's public schools continues to decline (22 less in the 1975-76 school year than in the 1974-75 school year).

Although overt discrimination has declined, women administrators still experience differential treatment on the job. Because women are the minority in administration, their sex is salient. Women stand out in professional encounters. In addition, women feel they must be better than men to be thought of as half as good. Women must prove themselves. There is also a problem with interpretation of behavior as being either feminine or appropriate, as opposing, incompatible traits. A woman is made to feel that she can either be feminine or a manager, but not both. Women also feel that they are expected to boost the male ego of colleagues.

Unless male administrators support her, the female administrator may be bypassed in the hierarchy by faculty. Such support is not always given, and male superiors may actually expect women to fail, which can cause a woman to lose self-confidence and perform as expected. Many administrators agree that women have to initiate all attempts to get acquainted and converse with men principals. This lack of communication is credited by them to traditional male-female relationships.

It is difficult to assess the degree of discrimination women experience in administration or any other profession because of the discrepancy between women's perception of their situation and reality itself. Therefore, perceptual awareness of women principals was discussed.

In order to determine the degree of acceptance and types of differential treatment women in school administration experience, a survey of female administrators in the state of Minnesota was conducted. The views of survey respondents as to the existence of discriminatory attitudes and the ways in which these attitudes express themselves in both words and actions, paralleled those presented in the literature, with some additions. Numerous respondents believe there is more of a problem gaining acceptance from superiors and other principals in the district than from the staff. Unfortunately, these are the very people from whom acceptance is so crucial. Superiors can be influential in bringing about a participative change in attitudes.

Since female administrators cannot rely on support from superiors, they themselves must attempt to influence a change in attitudes. Survey subjects have done this by adopting a participative, democratic style of management, by joining organizations which strive for long-term results in eliminating sex bias, by directly confronting individuals or groups who cling to sexist attitudes, by working harder to decrease bias by displaying competence, by encouraging other women to prepare for administrative positions, by supporting anti-discrimination laws, and by trying to maintain a positive self-concept.

It is more difficult, however, for female administrators to influence a change in attitudes of their colleagues and superiors. The high-consideration style of management which seems effective in gaining acceptance from staff does not seem appropriate in dealing with upper levels of management, and women are not in

positions of authority to institute coerced change (hiring more women) which might result in a long-range change of attitudes by eliminating the minority status of women administrators.

Recommendations

It can be concluded that the acceptance of women in administration is dependent upon two changes: getting more women into the field, and changing sexist attitudes. Opportunity to initiate and responsibility for initiation of these two changes are interrelated and require action at several different levels. They include: elementary, secondary, and higher education; and recruitment, selection, and promotion practices. (Changes which can be initiated by female administrators on an individual basis are listed in Chapter IV.)

The recommended changes, if implemented, would serve to help eradicate sexist attitudes, increase levels of aspiration of females, and remove the roadblocks previously discussed which discourage women from pursuing a career in educational administration.

Recommendations for change to be initiated at the elementary and secondary school levels:

1. Students of both sexes should be given equal instruction and support services in all grades.

2. All courses and extra-curricular activities should be open to both sexes and choices based on interest and talent should be encouraged. In addition, young men and women should be given information about the status of women in the labor force and about

the new career opportunities available to women so that course choices are made with a more realistic view of work lives of women.

3. Images of girls and women presented in texts for all courses should be considered when purchasing, and publishers should be notified of this. All texts should be screened for bias.

4. Athletics and physical education programs should be free from sex distinctions.

5. Women's studies should be incorporated into the curriculum.

6. Bibliographies and resource manuals on women's studies should be distributed to school libraries and teachers.

7. Social studies courses should be supplemented with current materials available on the history of women.

8. Sex-stereotyping should be eliminated from all school publications (including the school newspaper).

9. The assignment of students to positions and to perform duties should be free from sex stereotyping.

Recommendations for change to be initiated in institutions of higher education:

1. Admission and financial aid policies and career counseling should be reevaluated.

2. Female studies courses should be initiated.

3. Day care centers for children of students, as well as instructors, should be established.

4. Increased involvement of women in academic life should be encouraged at all levels and in all fields by initiating policy

and structural changes.

5. Transfer of graduate credits should be easily accomplished.

6. Evening courses, independent study, contract arrangements, correspondence courses and credit for life experiences should be available as alternatives to day courses on campus.

7. Students should be allowed to matriculate on a part-time basis.

8. Half-time teaching and research appointments with half-time salaries to allow women and men to rear children without an interruption in their professional lives and hopefully increase the number of women as role models in such positions, should be encouraged. For the same reasons, husband-wife nepotism should be encouraged.

9. A special effort should be made to recruit women into educational administration.

Recommendations for change to be initiated by the administrative staff in the areas of recruitment, selection, and promotion conditions:

1. Specific job descriptions should be provided to people to prepare for administrative positions, and these descriptions should be used to make decisions in hiring and promotion.

2. Interested and potentially qualified women employees should be identified and encouraged to apply for specific training programs.

3. Leadership positions for women should be encouraged for administrative experience.

4. A list of names of potential female candidates for promotion within the district should be developed.

5. If recruiting outside the district, such organizations as the National Organization for Women, the National Council of Administrative Women in Education, and the American Association of University Women, should be contacted.

6. The assignment by sex of all jobs and duties, such as assigning men to study hall supervision more frequently than women, should be eliminated.

7. Commitment to equal opportunity by both actions and words should be communicated.

8. Women should be included and supported in the internal communication system as valuable, serious employees.

9. Information on recent civil rights legislation, related directly to treatment of female students and employees, should be distributed to all personnel.

10. Women should be publicly encouraged to apply for administrative positions.

11. Women should be included on recruitment teams and screening committees.

12. Flexibility in work hours and positions should be allowed.

13. Day care centers within the schools for children of staff, faculty, and students should be established. These programs can be used for training students in child care and related courses.

14. In-service training on an on-going basis designed to raise levels of awareness of the contributions, status, and abilities of women should be required. Those persons making personnel decisions

particularly should be sensitized to how their attitudes toward women as professionals affect their decisions.

15. Both male and female administrators should be expected to act as mentors to coach aspiring women toward administrative positions.

16. Personnel staff should be trained to use objective, job-related criteria to contribute to equal opportunity efforts.

17. District staffing should be analyzed to discover areas in which women and men are under- or over-utilized.

18. An affirmative action program for women should be established with goals, timetables, and an evaluation process. Where women are under-utilized, preferential hiring should be practiced. Women should be aggressively sought for positions generally closed to them. Progress of the affirmative action program should be published annually.

19. Written and unwritten discriminatory practices, including leaves of absence, pay, fringe benefits, and retirement plans should be examined and revised.

20. A procedure for channeling complaints of discrimination by sex should be established. This procedure should be agreed upon by representatives of all groups of personnel in the district, and there should be female representation on the grievance committee.

21. Women administrators should never be isolated from male employees. Both sexes should be allowed and encouraged to interact as equals. Male supervisors should neither expect women to know everything nor expect that they themselves will have to do much of the work for them.

Implications

Although the number of women in administration continues to decline in Minnesota, recruitment and selection is still influenced by sex status, and women are still held responsible for child care and household duties, "there have been wider societal changes that may contribute to the greater participation of women and lighten the burdens assumed by today's professional women." (Epstein, p. 199)

1. Growing participation in work by women in other countries is bound to reinforce pressure for further improvement in the position of women in the United States.

2. Although the proportion of women in educational administration has decreased, there has been an increase in absolute numbers of women in professional life. This means that women engaged in these pursuits are more visible, and it no longer seems peculiar or impossible for them to be part of any profession.

3. There is an increasing need for trained personnel. There is a shortage of managerial personnel which will force traditional occupations to look to women.

4. Schools are recruiting from a wider social base. Young men will be less resistant to working with women if they have had the experience of studying with them in college and in professional training. "There is some evidence that the younger men taking command in the decision-making centers are more receptive to employing women than were their predecessors." (Epstein, p. 203)

5. When opportunities open for women in institutions of higher learning, opportunities may be expected to open for women in working

institutions ("halo effect").

6. Changes in the behavior and expectations of women may create a greater drive for recognition and success.

If these societal changes are effective in bringing about a significant increase in the number of women in school administration, perhaps then women will gain the acceptance necessary to work and compete with men at all levels of performance. This competition will then act as a check on the mediocrity of leadership that results from a restricted source of talent.

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